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The Shape of Things

PRESIDENT TRUMAN HAS WISELY TAKEN THE initiative in demanding a Congressional investigation of the Pearl Harbor disaster. Through Senator Barkley the Administration has forestalled the Republicans and offered its own resolution for such an inquiry. This had passed the Senate before we went to press and will probably have passed the House before this issue appears. It is a pity the terms of the resolution did not cover that other "Pearl Harbor" at Manila, where MacArthur lost virtually his entire air force to the Japanese, on the ground and without a fight, ten hours after the surprise attack on Hawaii. There are many gaps in the army-navy reports on Pearl Harbor—notably the omission, from the published version of the army report, of fifty-two pages on the activities of an army lieutenant and a German contractor in charge of airfield construction on Oahu. The full story of the diplomatic maneuvers which preceded the outbreak of war with Japan has yet to be told, and we hope the joint Congressional inquiry will find out whether it was opposition to further appeasement or an ultimatum from Chungking which led the State Department to insist in November, 1941, on the withdrawal of the Japanese troops from China as a condition of peace. Senator Taft said that he wanted to be sure the resolution provided authority to go back as far as the days when we were selling scrap iron to Japan. It does, and we hope the Ohio isolationist and corporation lawyer will feel the same way when investigators expose the part that oil and iron interests played in the appeasement of Japan.

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THE DEPARTURE OF GENERAL MACARTHUR AND the end of army control in the Philippines open the way for much-needed changes in the islands. Under the army no long-range plans for rehabilitation and economic reform could even be started, and the Commonwealth has kept itself afloat chiefly on the artificial business activity generated by the presence of a large military establishment. Now it must tackle the job of preparing for independence, and under present conditions independence looks more like a threat than a long-desired goal. For the islands are shattered, materially and humanly. The chronic ills of a feudal colonial system have been multiplied by the corrupting effect of enemy occupation and the destruction of war. As for the political situation, it is even more deplorable. Under the shelter of MacArthur's military control a government of collaborationists has firmly intrenched itself, as the article by Captain X on page 255 of this issue clearly reveals. Civilian administration cannot alter the picture overnight, but President Truman's appointment of a High Commis-

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sioner is a move in the right direction. Mr. McNutt held this post once before, from 1937 to 1939, and he recently headed the Commission on Health and Rehabilitation of the Philippines. He is a good administrator, if not a person of great social or political imagination, and he should be able to set in motion the civilian agencies that have been stalled since the liberation of the islands. We hope he will also reverse the MacArthur policy of supporting political reaction and discouraging the weak and poorly organized advocates of Philippine democracy.

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EDWARD R. MURROW, WRITING FROM LONDON to the New York *Post,* expressed his horror that certain New York night-club entertainers were making jokes and rhymes about the atomic bomb and suggested that since it was likely more people would die of starvation in Europe than were killed by the two bombs, here was a topic that would tax the ingenuity of entertainers in search of a jest. Murrow's grim suggestion may not be too far-fetched. Recently the New York *Times* ran a joyous editorial in praise of the return of the abundant life—reduced ration points, 20 per cent increases in meat supplies, a bumper turkey crop "with the promise that carries for heavily laden Thanksgiving tables." Apparently, said the *Times,* "the situation remains tight only for fats, oils, and sugar." (The restoration of whipping cream was announced a day later.) The same issue of the *Times* carried first-hand reports of Europe's food outlook. Herbert Lehman, returning on the Queen Elizabeth, said Europe was in for a grim winter. Roy C. Hendrickson, deputy director of UNRRA, said that while shipments of relief supplies were being increased, there were acute shortages that could only partially be met. In the matter of fats and oils UNRRA has been able to do nothing to improve a European diet of eight to twelve pounds a year compared with an American level which never fell below forty-five pounds even in the "tight" period to which the *Times* referred. It seems to us that our authorities are misjudging the American people if they assume we are eager to return to bountiful living while Europe and the rest of the world starve. Let's keep rationing strict if thereby Europe can get more meats *and* fats. Let's be quick about advancing credits if it means food supplies to France, Belgium, Great Britain, and other countries not serviced by UNRRA. Let's give UNRRA promptly the appropriation Mr. Lehman is asking for.

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PREMIER FERUCCI PARRI HAS REFUSED TO HOLD elections in Italy until a peace treaty has been signed. He may resign rather than yield to the Allies on this point. Parri's resignation might well mean the dissolution of the Committee of National Liberation. Meanwhile the Italians are looking forward to holding a Constitutional Assembly. Actually, no free choice can be made between republic and monarchy while foreign troops occupy the country and a pro-monarchist Allied Commission circumscribes the authority of the government. Premier Parri said to Donald Downes, ONA representative, in a recent interview: "You cannot manufacture democracy without democracy or perform the most significant right of freedom without true freedom; nor is it possible to do either without national autonomy." Under AMG each Italian ministry has its counterpart in the Allied Commission. Recently the commission required the hated Carabinieri to increase its numbers and modernize its equipment. These henchmen of monarchy would supervise the polls if an election were held now. In the north, mayors and provincial administrators have been required to take an oath of allegiance to the King—an oath not required of the Prime Minister himself. Without the bolstering of their position by Allied authority the monarchists would stand little chance: even the Christian Democrats, the largest party in Italy, have publicly acknowledged "the outspoken republican preference in the party ranks." Unless the elections are forced before the signing of the treaty and the departure of AMG, the right would like to see them delayed until "recovery and tranquillity" return. The left, on the other hand, wants the elections immediately after the signing of the treaty.

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THE FORMULATION OF A PEACE TREATY FOR Italy will present a severe challenge to the statesmanship of the Foreign Ministers of the Big Five now meeting in London, involving as it does an escapable clash of interests. Russia will undoubtedly back Tito's claim to Trieste, while Britain is reported to favor a free port available to all the landlocked Balkan states. A particularly ticklish problem arises in connection with the former Italian colonies. The anti-Soviet clique in the State Department is said to favor returning the colonies to Italy rather than creating a four-power trusteeship in which Russia would be represented. Although the United States has not hesitated to demand a voice in the internal affairs of Bulgaria and Rumania under the terms of the Yalta agreement, this group is strongly opposed to permitting Russia to gain a foothold on the Mediterranean, even in an international arrangement. From Russia's point of view, the whole question may well be viewed as a test of Anglo-American sincerity toward the United Nations Charter. That document clearly provided for trusteeship for former enemy territory, and any effort to hedge on that obligation in the first post-war territorial settlement would threaten United Nations unity.

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THE SCANDALOUS BEHAVIOR OF THE FASCIST Bavarian government under the noses of the Allied military authorities is new proof that we are far from having won the fight against fascism in Europe. *The Nation* will start publication shortly of a series of articles on this vital subject by Saul K. Padover, a distinguished American writer who has just returned from Germany. Mr. Padover is an expert on government administration, and it would be difficult to find anyone better equipped to tell the American people the truth about American-occupied Germany. But even without his evidence it is plain enough that the fascists in the Bavarian administration, from Minister President Friedrich Schaeffer through Minister of Economics Lange and the acting head of the Ministry of the Interior, August Fischer, are running things to suit themselves. A headline on a recent story by Victor H. Bernstein in *PM* announced that the situation was one which "even the AMG can't stomach." Can Bernstein, who has done such excellent work, really believe

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that there would be a fascist government in Bavaria if the American government objected? But unless the American government does object, its policy is not "the destruction of the fascist tyranny," as President Roosevelt proclaimed at one of the most crucial moments of the war.

✶

THE GOVERNOR OF TEXAS HOLDS A MAN'S LIFE in his hands. Unless he intervenes, L. C. Akins will be put to death on October 6 because his skin is black. A factual study of the case is set forth in an article by George Clifton Edwards, a Dallas attorney, on page 253 of this issue of *The Nation*. The procedure of the Texas courts in bringing about a conviction for murder and imposing the death sentence is, unfortunately, not exceptional. What is almost impossible to understand is the action—with the honorable dissent of Justices Stone, Black, and Murphy—of the United States Supreme Court in attesting that no grounds existed for throwing out the conviction on the basis of special discrimination. It would almost appear that the court's predilection for permitting the states freedom to experiment in social legislation has been broadened to include freedom to experiment in refined forms of depriving United States citizens of their lives. We appeal to Governor Coke Stevenson to use his prerogative to free the state of Texas from the imminent guilt of legal murder. And we urge our readers, after they have carefully studied Mr. Edwards's analysis, to act in their capacity as American citizens committed to a belief in equal justice and wire the Governor. A man's life may yet be saved and the traditions of American justice vindicated.

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PROSPECTS FOR A JOBLESS INSURANCE BILL THAT will see war workers through the reconversion period without severe hardship appear to be slight despite President Truman's urgent plea for such legislation. Since it is obvious that the federal government has a responsibility to the hard-working men and women whose jobs were suddenly terminated by the cancelation of war orders, the opponents of the bill have been careful not to oppose the principle of the proposal. Instead, they have raised the hoary slogan of states' rights to sabotage the Administration's plan for increasing unemployment benefits by federal grants-in-aid. One state official, testifying before the Senate Finance Committee, said that forty states have restrictions preventing them from increasing their unemployment benefits even if they receive federal aid. Behind this technicality—which could easily be removed by the state legislatures—lies the concerted opposition of the state bureaucracies to any move which challenges their political domination. Since the plan would be of great benefit to the persons they are supposed to serve, as well as to the nation as a whole, their attitude provides the strongest argument yet advanced for the abolition of state control over unemployment insurance and the creation of a unified federal system. If it is impossible under the present law to provide equitable benefits for our war workers regardless of the state in which they happened to work, no time should be lost in changing the law. Surely the country does not want to repeat the experiences of the early 1930's, when the states held out against the use of federal funds until millions faced starvation and the states themselves were on the brink of complete economic collapse.

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THE DEATH OF VICE-ADMIRAL JOHN SIDNEY McCain within a few hours of his return home is tragic testimony to the terrible effects of modern war on the men who fight it. McCain did not die from a sniper's bullet or a battleship's salvo, but war killed him as surely and as mercilessly as it killed any man who fell in the front lines. Reporters at Pearl Harbor who interviewed him on his way home from Japan remarked the strain and fatigue in his face, and those who knew what ceaseless effort of concentration he brought to his job of commanding the fast carrier force cannot have been too surprised that the sudden release from enormous responsibility and overtaxing work was followed by the stopping of a very stout heart. McCain was one of those extraordinary men who can master a new trade late in life—he received his wings at fifty-two—and go on to become a leader in the field. His sinewy, calculating mind and his enthusiastic embracing of the new potentialities of the naval air arm made him an ideal commander of the spearhead of our Pacific power. An unusual and imaginative command arrangement allowed that power to be applied almost continuously, Halsey and McCain alternating with Spruance and Mitscher as heads of the great Pacific fleet and its fast carrier force. Halsey and McCain carried the fight from Leyte to Tokyo Bay, through the harrowing days of Kamikaze to the triumphant days of searing attacks on the Japanese home islands by our carrier-based aircraft. McCain's planes in the last three months of war sank more than a million tons of enemy shipping and destroyed nearly three thousand enemy aircraft. The strain of that performance cost McCain his life; its brilliance has won him a high place in the annals of American military leaders.

Baruch on the Veterans

THE country has now been given a most comprehensive, detailed, and thoughtful report on the problems of veterans' readjustment to civilian pursuits by Bernard M. Baruch. In the endless stream of articles, books, lectures, and radio programs devoted to the subject, the Baruch report shines like a bright deed in a naughty world. It should become a sort of bible for government officials, Congressmen, and all authorities charged with responsibility for carrying out this most important of America's immediate reconversion tasks. It should serve as a guide to all citizens interested in straight thinking about a subject which has hitherto been befogged in a high incidence of nonsense.

Mr. Baruch strikes to the heart of the matter when he says:

> The solution of the veterans' problems does not—cannot—proceed alone. During the period when our soldiers and sailors will be shedding their uniforms, six to eight million workers in strictly war industries will be shifting jobs or homes. The ultimate goal of any veterans' program must be to restore the returning soldier and sailor to the community—socially, economically, and humanely. This cannot

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be accomplished except as part of the larger program embracing the whole of human demobilization.

One terrible danger of failure may be to set the veteran off from the rest of the nation, cherishing the grievance of having been wronged, at odds with fellow-Americans, his feelings an explosive fuel ready to be ignited by some future demagogue.

These two paragraphs should be pasted in the hats of all who deal with veterans. They set forth the essential objective of veterans' demobilization and the devastating cost of failure.

Implicit in the whole Baruch report is the author's understanding of the central objective of an intelligent program for veterans: "to restore the returning soldier and sailor to the community." He discards the nonsense of attempting to "reward" men who have done deeds for which there can be no adequate reward except in terms of a healthy nation and a peaceful world. He rejects the sentimental theory that we must "do something for veterans" in favor of the sound theory of helping ourselves to achieve our national objectives by making sure the veterans will take their places in the community as productive citizens, not as professional ex-servicemen who are set apart from non-veterans by walls of false distinction—walls which may be built either by disproportionate preference for veterans or by inadequate or faulty assistance.

Central to the success of Mr. Baruch's plan is the appointment of a "single, unforgetful mind" to the post of work director in charge of the entire "human side of demobilization." This post, first suggested in the original Baruch-Hancock report on demobilization eighteen months ago, was formally created in an executive order of a year ago establishing a Retraining and Reemployment Administration. General Frank T. Hines, who was appointed to the post, was prevented by his duties as Veterans' Administrator from doing much in this broader field. General Omar Bradley, to whom the new Baruch report is addressed, has replaced General Hines in the Veterans' Administration, and Hines has now been appointed Minister to Panama. No successor is in sight for head of the Retraining and Reemployment Administration; presumably President Truman is looking for a man of the required caliber for the job. It is a vital appointment, for General Bradley, as Mr. Baruch said, cannot do his own work to best effect without this unifying force outside the Veterans' Administration.

The Baruch report contains six more major recommendations: a clean-cut division between medical and non-medical affairs in the Veterans' Administration, with the creation of a new veterans' medical service under an outstanding director; the establishment of an independent committee to survey every aspect of veterans' medical care and recommend changes to modernize that outdated system; substantial increases in salaries of medical personnel with promotion on the basis of professional ability as opposed to the current initiative-killing system of seniority, closer links with civilian medical centers, and encouragement of research; another committee to recommend simplification of non-medical routines in administration; amendment of the G. I. Bill of Rights to make loan provisions effective over ten years instead of two; and an incentive tax of 25 per cent less than the normal rate to veterans starting new businesses.

All these recommendations seem to us sensible and to the point. They are not entirely original with Mr. Baruch: reporters such as Albert Deutsch and Albert Q. Maisel, whose exposés contributed to General Hines's replacement, have suggested similar reforms in the medical field, and the American Veterans' Committee has proposed action paralleling Mr. Baruch's in all these fields for the past six months. But it is encouraging to have the voice of such a widely respected elder statesman add its authority to the views of a group of veterans of this war, and it is devoutly to be hoped that the President, General Bradley, Congress, and common citizens everywhere will listen to these voices.

Cross-Currents in Japan

DESPITE continued revelations of inhuman Japanese cruelty toward American prisoners of war, the first week after formal surrender passed without any notable stiffening of General MacArthur's policies toward the defeated enemy. Perhaps it is too soon to expect a drastic change. The occupation has been proceeding very slowly. Ten days after the first landings we still had only 32,000 men in Japan. The entry into Tokyo came nearly a week after the formal capitulation. The Japanese have played their cards skilfully to persuade MacArthur to leave their governmental and economic structure intact. No incident has marred the progress of the occupation. The Japanese government appears to have faithfully, if at times tardily, carried out all MacArthur's orders. In an obvious effort to prepare the people for the hardships of the occupation, Premier Higashi-kuni has finally told them that it was Allied power rather than the magnanimity of the Emperor that brought about the sudden end of the war. In his speech before the Diet he frankly admitted that the Japanese had been defeated even before the dropping of the atomic bomb and Russia's entry into the war, and that these events had made their situation impossible.

MacArthur appears to have attacked his new job with more zeal than understanding. He has shown a clear intention to crack down on the Japanese so as to impress upon them the fact of their defeat. He has imposed a curfew on Japanese civilians in the occupation areas, forbidden the sale of alcoholic beverages, announced severe penalties for the acquisition or use of American food or supplies, and ordered Japanese civilians to show a respectful attitude toward Americans. Tokyo Rose, the notorious radio propagandist, has been arrested. But in sharp contrast to these indications of a tougher policy, the Allied High Command has announced that it will use several thousand members of the Kampei-tai, the Japanese counterpart of the Gestapo, to assist the regular police in maintaining order. Presumably they have been chosen because they have police experience and can lift a heavy burden from the limited American occupation forces. Yet as Andrew Roth points out elsewhere in this issue, the chief function of the Kempei-tai has always been the suppression of liberal and democratic groups within Japan. Only if the secret police are wholly suppressed and their documents destroyed can we expect the progressive

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groups within Japan to gather courage enough to emerge as an effective political force. Under present circumstances it is not surprising that there has been little evidence of the existence of a political movement opposed to the militarists. Kagawa, the noted Christian pacifist, has, however, turned up in Yokohama with the information that some labor unions have reappeared after fourteen years of suppression.

While MacArthur's actions indicate no change in American occupation policies, some hope may be found in the State Department shake-up announced last week in Washington. Eugene Dooman, who has long served as Mr. Grew's right-hand man in determining policies toward Japan, has resigned. His place as chairman of "Swink"—a joint State, War, and Navy Department committee responsible for occupation policy—has been taken by John Carter Vincent, head of the China Division. The importance of this change can hardly be overstated. Dooman and Grew have long urged a lenient policy toward the Emperor and the Japanese industrial and financial leaders so as to preserve "order" within Japan. They were chiefly responsible for the decision to retain the Emperor. Many others in the department, including Under Secretary Acheson and Mr. Vincent, were strongly opposed to the Grew-Dooman policies. Even after Grew's resignation many observers predicted that he would show up in Japan as chief adviser to MacArthur. That danger has apparently been averted. Both Grew and Dooman are definitely out, and an old China hand, George Atcheson, Jr., has been appointed acting adviser to MacArthur. Little is known of Atcheson's views on Japan, but at least he has none of the social ties with the *Zaibatsu* that Grew and Dooman possessed. So far as we have been able to learn, no one with a thorough understanding of the Japanese social and economic structure has been appointed to a high policy-making position either in the State Department or on MacArthur's staff. Even men who have served in China cannot be expected to possess the detailed knowledge that is necessary to guide our policies in Japan unless they have made a special study of the subject. Real knowledge is needed if Japanese militarism is to be eradicated and the first, hesitant shoots of democracy are to be wisely nourished.

The State Department Reorganization

PRESIDENT TRUMAN, with three new appointments, seems to have completed the reorganization of the State Department hierarchy. By far the best of the three is that of Benjamin V. Cohen as Counselor of the department, a post which has been vacant since the death of the respected R. Walton Moore in 1941. Cohen was one of the original "brain trusters"; he and Tom Corcoran made an able team in the early years of the New Deal. We know of no man in public life who has served his country with greater devotion or more selflessness than Cohen. He is a man of scholarly attainment and philosophic insight; his intellectual horizons, and his sympathies, are quite unlike those to which we have been accustomed in this traditionally bloodless and bureaucratic agency. To have a progressive of Cohen's caliber in the No. 3 position—he will rank next to Under Secretary Acheson—will be a real change in a department which has had so many meaningless "reorganizations."

We cannot record the same satisfaction with the other two new appointments announced by the President on the recommendation of Secretary Byrnes. Neither man is known or tested. William Benton succeeds Archibald MacLeish as Assistant Secretary in Charge of Cultural and Public Relations. Little is known of Benton's views on foreign policy except that, unlike MacLeish, he was rather isolationist-minded before Pearl Harbor. Benton was formerly a partner in Benton and Bowles, the advertising firm, and has since been vice-president of the University of Chicago. At the university he distinguished himself chiefly by trying to inject big-business methods into education, to the detriment of education. Less is known of the other Assistant Secretary, Donald S. Russell of Spartanburg, South Carolina. He was a law partner of Byrnes and is expected to handle the department's relations with Congress.

How would one size up the new State Department? At the top, under Byrnes, are four able men—Under Secretary Acheson, Counselor Cohen, Assistant Secretary William L. Clayton, and the new Assistant Secretary for Latin America, Spruile Braden. *The Nation* was critical of Clayton on his appointment but must in all fairness note the fact that he has been making an excellent record in the department. Braden's vigor at Buenos Aires promises well for his work in Washington. Acheson and Cohen are old friends and close associates; they seem to agree on basic questions of policy, and one suspects that Clayton and Braden will also be in general agreement with them. These four are the nucleus for a department really equipped to handle foreign policy with understanding and efficiency.

Elsewhere one sees unknown quantities and one leftover from the striped-pants era. The leftover is Cordell Hull's old croquet partner, "Jimmy" Dunn, who is Assistant Secretary in Charge of European, Far Eastern, Near Eastern, and African Affairs (no less). The unknown quantities, in addition to Russell and Benton, are Frank McCarthy and Walter Brown. McCarthy succeeded Julius Holmes as Assistant Secretary in Charge of Personnel; any successor to the reactionary Holmes would probably be a change for the better. Brown, a Spartanburg, South Carolina, radio-station operator, is confidential adviser to Byrnes on public relations. Like Russell, he is quite new to foreign affairs.

Thus even at the top the "reorganization to end reorganizations" is only partially satisfactory. And in an old-established agency like the State Department shake-ups must extend deep down into the permanent bureaucracy if they are to have any substantial and wholesome effect. The news that Eugene Dooman has resigned as our principal adviser on Far Eastern affairs indicates that some changes at least are planned on the lower levels. Such changes are essential if the department is adequately to fulfil the new obligations it has assumed in fields formerly handled by the Office of War Information, the Foreign Economic Administration, and the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs.

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The Truman Program

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, September 9

I HAVE been out of Washington for most of the summer, and there is much I have to learn. But I would like to venture a few observations in the wake of the President's message to Congress.

1. To understand the message and what is happening here one must keep in mind that Administration utterance, thought, and action reflect three diverse approaches to post-war problems. On what may best be termed the *theological* level the Administration bows the knee to "free enterprise"; the message invokes "free enterprise" fervently, as do the backers of the full-employment bill. A psychologist might say that the fervor of the worshipers increases in direct ratio to the volume of their secret doubts, for on the *practical* level the White House and its progressive allies are asking for a legislative program based on the belief that without extensive government intervention at many points in the economy full employment is unattainable. One would not need a full-employment bill if "free enterprise" were as magical as it is represented to be in the current liturgy. But there is more to the picture than these contrasting "theological" and practical attitudes. On the *emotional* level still another attitude is visible. The mood of the White House and of Democratic Party leadership generally seems to be as optimistic as that of the Republicans. The President remains, as he has always been, a New Dealer. It is the momentum of the New Deal, the logical consequences of its basic assumptions, the experience of the past, and the pressure of organized labor rather than any feeling of impending emergency which underlies the President's program. Basically, the President, like most Americans at this moment, feels that "everything is going to be all right." There is a mystic faith in "pent-up" demand. There is an all too human failure of the imagination. We have been enjoying a fully employed economy for almost five years and find it hard to imagine any really drastic change. It is this mood which accounts for two facts, one about the Administration, the other about the President's program. The President has a New Deal program, but his Administration, in its actual operating personnel, is less New Dealish even than Roosevelt's was after 1940: no one with a sense of urgency would bring so many mediocre politicians and conventional minds into posts of crucial importance. It is this which gives so many people here the feeling that the New Deal is over, though the President's program calls for its extension. The optimistic mood of the moment also explains why Truman recommends an immediate large-scale public-works program. The works on which immediate action is asked—public buildings and highways—are minor. The major projects—regional TVA's and housing—are presented in long-range terms. Should coming unemployment be as severe as some of the ablest economists on lower Administration levels believe, we shall be caught unprepared, and the jobless will have to rake leaves again.

2. The President in his message has gone all out for a progressive program. He is for higher unemployment compensation and an increase in minimum wages under the Fair Labor Standards Act. He is for the full-employment bill and for a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee. He is for slum clearance and for a federal research agency, as long advocated by his friend Senator Kilgore. He asks for repeal of the Johnson Act, for interim lending power to fill the gap left by the sudden cessation of Lend-Lease, and for an additional contribution of $1,350,000,000 for UNRRA. He wants a system of crop insurance, and he recommends only limited tax reductions. The little man from Missouri has courage.

But it will take more than courage to put this program over. Even the leader of a party newly come to power, with a full range of patronage at his disposal, could hardly hope to overcome all the special interests and prejudices sure to be antagonized by this program. Without an economic crisis and the public awakening it brings, little of this program can be enacted. If a large volume of unemployment develops quickly, Truman has a chance to put it over. If the crisis comes later, he must gamble politically on the advantage of having had a concrete program. He can blame the opposition for having defeated measures that might have prevented the crisis. The advantage of his politically bold message is that it clarifies the issues for 1946 and 1948, and behind this strategy is the sound observation that the Democratic Party nationally has never got anywhere except as a left-of-center party.

The Republicans will fight. The honeymoon is over. The reaction of the GOP Congressional leaders was curiously 1920-ish. They put their research experts to work estimating how much the Truman program *would cost*. They are thinking in terms of fiscal economy and "normalcy," and their statements bristle with the old horrid words that failed so signally against Roosevelt—"boot-strap legislation," "deficit financing," "regimentation." They are staking their hopes on a quick and fairly successful reconversion, with enough employment and business activity to keep the middle classes fairly content and thus to make possible a successful campaign on—as Chairman Halleck of the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee expressed it—"the old-fashioned issue of conservatism."

But this is not the whole of their strategy as it seems to be developing in Congress. The fight against higher unemployment compensation indicates that they will let conservative Southern Democrats take the leadership and the blame on the more unpopular issues. And Taft's amendments to the full-employment bill show that they will not risk frontal attacks on the basic measure but will seek instead to confuse the issue and accomplish their purpose by indirection. Last winter Taft sounded like a cross between Martin Dies ("with a Communist plot") and a sectarian Soviet ideologist (full

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employment can be made possible only by the socialist construction of society) when he discussed the full-employment bill. Now he claims to be all for its purposes but wants some "clarifying" amendments. The most important of these would take the right to work and clarify it as existence. Unfortunately for Taft, the demand for full employment is too fundamental to be sidetracked by the kind of legalistic trickery one might use successfully in wringing a mortgage or bond indenture.

3. The fundamental issue shaping up here is between those who want a fully employed economy and those who think they can get along profitably even if there is a large volume of unemployment. That a full-employment economy is the more profitable is demonstrated in the new War Production Board report on the effect of the war on the industrial economy. Despite high wages and high taxes, low costs per unit of output under conditions of all-out production boosted profits, after taxes, by 120 per cent over 1940 and to a point far over 1929. The basic question raised by the WPB report is whether our expanded metal-working and chemical industries will shrink back to fit our pre-war economy or whether our economy will be expanded to fit these enlarged productive possibilities. The question is already being answered: capacity and output are being reduced in many of these industries. In part this is due to habitual patterns. "The modern industrial economy," the WPB report says in a sentence which deserves immortality, "has always been characterized by the low degree of utilization of its existing plant." The individual enterpriser operating on his own is safest when working within a comfortable margin of scarcity, including scarcity of jobs; thus prices are held up and wages down.

On paper, partial employment seems to have its advantages. The September 1 issue of *Business Week* estimates that if the excess-profits tax is repealed, business during the coming year can earn higher net profits than the war-time peak, even with 9,000,000 unemployed. "Why, then," the average business man may ask himself, "sail out on the uncharted seas of economic planning?" But what if the economy declines to stay neatly poised at a level profitable to the owners of industry, though miserable for many millions of jobless? What if a deflationary spiral sets in? Wouldn't the average business man be better off in an economy planned for full employment, however painful that might be to the sacred cow of "free enterprise"? It is on the answer to these questions that momentous changes will depend in the not so distant future of the U. S. A.

Palestine—a World Responsibility

BY ROBERT F. WAGNER

(United States Senator from New York)

PALESTINE should no longer be discussed dispassionately. The period of inquiry, investigation, and calm debate is long behind us. Detachment has ceased to be a virtue. Today Palestine cries aloud for indignation. In Palestine international promises have been broken, loyalty and fidelity have been unrequited, hostility has been appeased, and human life has been subordinated to the mysterious demands of imperial policy. The miracle is that, despite all this, Jewish Palestine has throughout the war been a bastion of security to the United Nations and is today the most successful pioneering effort of modern history.

The war is over. The military considerations which have restrained official expression of America's views on the Palestine issue are no longer germane. Plain speech and forthright action are prime essentials in the peace-making era we have now entered. The problem of the Jewish National Home will not indefinitely hang on the vine. It is overripe for action now.

In 1917 the Jews of the world were assured of the opportunity to establish a national home in Palestine. This assurance was formally announced by the British in the Balfour Declaration. This declaration was not a secret commitment. It was an open covenant, openly arrived at. It was not the product of a sentimental whim on the part of Lord Balfour but the result of long negotiations with Britain's allies, the United States and the Arab leadership. It was a solemn undertaking by the British government designed to help win the war and to contribute to the solution of the age-old problem of Jewish homelessness and insecurity. The Congress of the United States in 1922 expressed its approval of the Balfour Declaration. In 1923, by the grant of the League of Nations and Britain's acceptance, Great Britain became the mandatory for Palestine. By the terms of the mandate Great Britain assumed responsibility "for placing the country under such political, administrative, and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home," as provided in the Balfour Declaration.

It seemed as if at last, after long centuries of suffering, persecution, and wandering, the Jews were to attain one objective on which they were predominantly united, the establishment of a national home, legally secured and publicly recognized. Since that time no political party and no responsible statesman, either in Great Britain or in the United States, has ever publicly questioned the wisdom of the high decision taken in 1917. Every American President since Wilson has reaffirmed American approval and support of the grand undertaking. In 1944 both the Democratic and the Republican National Convention adopted platform planks advocating the fullest opportunity for the establishment of a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth in Palestine. Before the recent British elections the Labor Party was unequivocal in its advocacy of the Jewish National Home.

And, indeed, no one can question either the wisdom or the success of the enterprise. The opportunity which was ex-

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tended to them was embraced by the Jews with unanticipated ardor. They have poured their blood and sweat, their toil and treasure into the neglected, physically and spiritually desecrated land. In twenty-five years the Jewish population of Palestine grew from 80,000 to over 500,000. They introduced modern agriculture and industry. They have literally caused the desert to bloom. Out of their efforts has come a higher standard of living for both Jew and Arab, a standard above that of any of the surrounding countries. Tremendous progress has been achieved in health and sanitation—between 1929 and 1940 the Arab death rate in Palestine declined 33 1/3 per cent. A great university has been founded. Education is widespread. The ancient tongue of the Hebrew Prophets is today the vernacular of the shopkeepers of Tel Aviv.

Most heartwarming has been the transformation effected in the bearing and morale of the once poverty-stricken, hopeless, and despondent pioneers who rebuilt themselves even as they replenished the land with their sweat. No one who shares my faith in the inherent capacity of the human soul to flourish under conditions of peace and freedom can fail to experience a high sense of elation.

Thus it has come to pass that, despite all manner of obstacle created by man and nature, the foundations of a Jewish commonwealth have been established. One would suppose that such success, exceeding the most ardent expectations, would enlist an ever-growing measure of support from the mandatory power. Such has not been the course of history. This is not the place to explore the overt and covert motives which diverted Britain's policy from its publicly assumed obligations. Indeed, they are irrelevant. The facts themselves are of record. The whittling-down process began almost at the birth of the enterprise. The mortal blow was struck in 1939. In that year, when European Jewry was undergoing martyrdom at the hands of Hitler, when refugees fortunate enough to escape the torture chambers and crematoriums were naturally turning toward Palestine as a sanctuary and a haven, the Chamberlain government issued the infamous White Paper. This pronouncement limited Jewish immigration into Palestine to an aggregate of 75,000 over the succeeding five-year period—thereafter it forbade Jewish immigration altogether except with Arab consent; it severely restricted the purchase of land by Jews; and it consigned the Jewish community of Palestine to a permanent minority status in its own national home. By thus yielding to Nazi propaganda Great Britain hoped to win Arab support. It succeeded only in losing the Arabs' respect.

The new policy was adopted unilaterally without consultation with the League of Nations—the source of Britain's rights in Palestine—or with the United States, and it was put into effect over the express disapproval of the Mandates Commission. As recently as March 9, 1944, President Roosevelt declared that the American government had never given its approval to the White Paper of 1939.

The new regulations were a barefaced breach of Britain's obligation "to *facilitate* Jewish immigration . . . to encourage close settlement on the land . . . to secure the establishment of a Jewish National Home." Their passage has fittingly been called by one of Britain's foremost statesmen an act of "moral bankruptcy." These words may sound harsh, especially when applied to a great and brave ally with whom we have just fought shoulder to shoulder in a war to save civilization. But the words are true, and they are pale and mild in comparison to the stout language used by Winston Churchill in 1939 when he scornfully dissociated himself from the White Paper.

Only one circumstance explains, though it does not excuse, the issuance of the White Paper. It was written as part of that sad chapter in the history of England when its government counseled its people to stray after false idols in the groves of appeasement. Nothing, however, explains the continuance of that policy. By common sacrifice we have repudiated Munich. Appeasement is everywhere discredited. Only the Chamberlain White Paper survives, the sorry souvenir of former folly.

Time and again in this last frightful decade Jewish spokesmen have pleaded for something more than professions of sympathy. More than a year ago Senator Johnson of Colorado pointed out that Hitler was murdering more Jews each day than Britain was admitting into Palestine in a year. But today, when there are no military considerations to obscure the cruelty of this illegal policy, the gates of Palestine are still barred to Jews. The officials who today keep the doors of Palestine locked are British officials; the regulations which obstruct Jewish land purchases are British regulations; the power which is preventing the development of the Jewish National Home is British power.

It was Mr. Churchill who said before he attained the Prime Ministry, "Either there will be a Britain which knows how to keep its word on the Balfour Declaration and is not afraid to do so, or, believe me, we shall find ourselves relieved of many overseas responsibilities other than those comprised within the Palestine mandate."

So far I have said very little about the Arabs. A wag is reported to have declared that if the Arabs hadn't been in Palestine, the British Colonial Office would have invented them. Internal division is reputed to be a useful tool in the hands of colonial administrators. If by Arabs we mean the inarticulate masses, we can judge their opinion by their conduct. In the twenty years from 1920 to 1940 the Arab population of Palestine has increased from 650,000 to over a million. Within Palestine there has been an internal migration from Arab districts into Jewish districts. The Arabs came because in the Jewish communities they received higher wages, enjoyed better health and sanitation, and received a fair opportunity to educate their children. Their alleged hostility to the Jews did not keep them away. A different attitude is prevalent among the feudal masters, who look with understandable suspicion upon the lifting of the Arab's standard of living and the awakening of his self-esteem.

It is true that there has been a birth of nationalism among the Arabs which is entitled to find a peaceful expression. As a result of World War I the Arabs obtained a magnificent opportunity for such expression. An Arab empire was created of more than a million square miles, comprising the states of Iraq, Syria, Transjordan, and Saudi Arabia. These states are underpopulated, undeveloped, and afford more than ample room for growth for centuries to come. It should not be forgotten that at the Peace Conference following World War I the Arab delegation through its leader, Emir Feisal, approved

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the Zionist proposals. A Jewish Palestine with an area of 10,000 square miles, as Feisal well said, in no way interferes with the growth of a healthy Arab nationalism. On the contrary, by the renascence of the Near East which Palestine promotes it accelerates the attainment of Arab aspirations.

Some of these facts have become obscured in Arab political thinking as a result of the discovery that England was disposed to falter on the Palestine obligation. Undoubtedly it will take greater effort for Britain to retrieve its position than if it had adhered firmly to the true course from the beginning. Regardless of difficulty, however, is it not time by deed to demonstrate to the whole world, including the Arab leaders, that statecraft has returned to its faith in the sanctity of the plighted word and that the tragic era of international gangsterism is at an end?

I am sure that our British allies are not in doubt concerning the attitude of the American people in this matter. Undoubtedly they know that only the strongest and highest suggestions of military necessity restrained the Congress from expressing its views in the midst of war. Now that hostilities are over, America's conviction is all the stronger that the Balfour Declaration should be executed fully, expeditiously, and faithfully. That means, in the words of Lloyd George, "that when the time arrived for according representative institutions to Palestine, if the Jews had meanwhile responded to the opportunity afforded them by the idea of a national home and had become a definite majority of the inhabitants, then Palestine would thus become a Jewish commonwealth."

It is heartbreaking to consider how many human lives might have been saved had Palestine remained wide open. At least the tragedy which is behind us ought to spur us to more responsible action with respect to the small remnant of European Jewry which has escaped. The lot of these Jews is deplorable beyond description. They have been despoiled of their possessions and uprooted from their homes and associations. They have been physically starved and spiritually crushed. All about them is the poison of bigotry, with which Hitler drenched the minds of their neighbors. The summary fact is that Palestine is indispensable not only to the rehabilitation of these human beings but to the health of Europe. Without Palestine the problem almost defies solution.

Palestine is a world problem in a more elevated sense than that it is the crossroads connecting the world's great empires. Palestine is the crucible in which will be tested the ability of the powerful to deal faithfully with the weak. The Christian world has Palestine on its conscience. If it would regain its moral self-respect, it must promptly do justice to Palestine.

OI! TAKE IT EASY!

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Japan's Police Terror

BY ANDREW ROTH

(Author of the recently published "Dilemma in Japan" and of other books on the Far East; intelligence officer in the Navy during the war. Owen Lattimore says of Roth, "He represents the younger school of American experts who are not blinded, as are so many older experts, by myths which even the Japanese do not believe.")

AS AMERICAN forces move into Japan for occupation duties the question of the hour is: Are we taking over or are we being taken in? Some of the more obvious plans of the Japanese oligarchy for a future comeback have already been spotted. The launching of officially sponsored "sound" political organizations with a variety of labels, including "liberal" and "socialist," was an amateurish and heavy-handed move. Similarly, it is plain that the Emperor institution, perhaps the most effective instrument of internal suppression and external aggression ever devised, is being exploited by Japan's real rulers to shield them from blame for defeat and to enable them to keep control of the populace in the turbulent months ahead. But little attention has been paid to their preparations for reorganizing and buttressing Japan's Gestapo-like police, which will have a key role in the oligarchy's efforts to subvert the Potsdam terms and prevent the emergence of any authentic democratic and anti-fascist elements.

Informed political scientists have frequently referred to Japan as the "absolute police state." Even before its modernization the government had a wide network of secret political police. In the course of the modernization this police force was expanded by the addition of many former samurai and streamlined for greater efficiency. It then set to work to suppress peasant uprisings and to cripple the liberal movement of the 1880's, which threatened to broaden the Meiji reformation from an industrial and governmental facelifting into an authentic democratic revolution.

In the 1920's this police played an even more nefarious role. After World War I the influence of the democratic idealism of Wilson and of the economic radicalism of Lenin, added to economic dislocation and distress, aroused a considerable section of the population to demand democratic reforms. A broad movement developed which favored universal suffrage, democratic government, and freedom of speech, press, and assembly. A wave of illegal strikes proclaimed the demands of industrial workers for higher wages, legal trade unionism, the right to strike, and social security. Share-cropping farmers organized peasants' unions and agitated for reduction of the feudal rents, the usurious interest rates, and the monopoly-swollen price of fertilizer. Women of all classes demanded an end to their serf-like status.

These movements were strong enough to force concessions from the oligarchy. But each concession was virtually nullified by increased police repression. Industrial workers were permitted to strike, but if they availed themselves of this right they were beaten up by jingoist thugs encouraged by the police, or jailed and beaten by the police themselves. Universal male suffrage was reluctantly granted in 1925, but almost simultaneously the so-called "Law Against Dangerous Thoughts" was passed granting the police complete freedom of action to arrest anyone who desired or even discussed changes in the autocratic state structure.

Wave upon wave of police raids decimated the leadership and terrorized the following of the groups desiring democratic reforms. Yukio Ozaki, the veteran democratic spokesman, has for some years had several policemen stationed in front of his house scrutinizing and harassing all his visitors. Even before her arrest in 1937 Baroness Ishimoto, the courageous feminist and social reformer, was under constant police surveillance. Once when she spoke to the copper miners at Ashio three police inspectors stood behind the fragile noblewoman to make sure she said nothing "dangerous." Yuki Ikeda, one of the Baroness's coworkers, was handled less gently. The police jailed her repeatedly and on one occasion broke all her fingers in an effort to stop her from agitating for decent conditions for working women. Wataru Kaji, leader of the Japanese Anti-War League, based at Chungking, was so frequently jailed and beaten that it became advisable for him to leave Japan and continue his anti-fascist activities from China.

Since all forward-looking political movements in the past have been crippled by police action, it is particularly distressing that the recent moves of the Japanese ruling groups to increase police terror have gone unchallenged. There was no public comment on Prince Higashi-kuni's appointment of Iwao Yamazaki to the strategic post of Home Minister, where he controls some 200,000 government employees, including the police, and is charged with the supervision of elections. Yamazaki is an authoritarian bureaucrat with extensive experience in police work. He has served as director of the Police Bureau and of Tokyo's Metropolitan Police Board and was ruthless enough to qualify as Vice-Minister of Home Affairs under General Tojo. His appointment was hailed by Japan's totalitarian press, which also called upon the government to enlarge the already swollen police force

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so as to enable it to suppress any "internal friction" or "clash of divergent opinions" and maintain "unification and solidarity." In broadcasts to the United States glib Japanese propagandists explain that an increased police force is required to hold down fire-eating nationalists. It is much more likely that the fire-eaters are being recruited into the police force to suppress democrats and leftists, as was done in Germany at the end of the last war. Military fascist officers, no longer able to commit atrocities against Allied prisoners and conquered peoples, can now devote their grisly talents to torturing the inmates of Japan's crowded political prisons.

It is to be feared that during the past few weeks the police have been slaughtering these political prisoners as a means of depriving the anti-fascist movement of experienced leadership. There is a notable precedent for this. Under cover of the great earthquake of 1923 nine leftist labor leaders were stabbed to death in jail and their bodies secretly burned by the police. Two weeks after the earthquake Saka Osugi, the intellectual leader of the Anarchists, together with his mistress and nephew, was strangled in a Tokyo jail by a captain of police. And just recently Russian troops entering the Japanese half of Sakhalin Island discovered the bodies of political prisoners who had been slashed to death with knives.

Unless strong Allied measures put an end to such police activities, forward-looking forces in Japan may be crippled at precisely the most propitious moment for their growth. All the evidence at hand indicates unrest and dissatisfaction in wide sectors of the population. If the dam of police suppression were broken, the currents of unrest might very well be combined into a broad movement to democratize Japan's political and economic structure and dig out the roots of aggression.

It is within our power to give Japan's democrats the opportunity they have earned by their years of battling the ruthless brutality of the police. The liquidation of the existing police organization should stand as high on our agenda in Japan as the elimination of the Gestapo did in Germany. The Potsdam terms call for the removal of "all obstacles to the revival and strengthening of democratic tendencies among the Japanese people." Anything less than complete reform of the police system will make a mockery of our victory.

The Hollywood Incident

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

ON DECEMBER 2, 1944, the Hood River, Oregon, Post of the American Legion removed the names of sixteen Japanese Americans from the honor roll of the community. With scarcely a single exception, the newspapers of the nation condemned the action as essentially un-American. A minor chorus of protest developed within the Legion: Wolverine Post No. 360 in Detroit, Captain Belvedere Brooks Post No. 450 in New York, Cheney Post No. 72 in Seattle, Justice Department Post No. 41 in Washington, D. C., David Latkin Post in New York, and Don E. Brown Post No. 592 in Los Angeles passed resolutions condemning the action as being contrary to Legion policy and practice. The incident placed the Legion officials in an extremely embarrassing position. They feared that it might turn many veterans of World War II against the Legion. Largely with this consideration in mind, the National Commander of the Legion issued a statement repudiating the action of the Hood River Post and suggesting that the stricken names be restored to the honor roll.

Among the Legion posts most deeply concerned was Hollywood World War II Post No. 591, with a membership of approximately four hundred. As the first World War II post, it had been carefully watched and especially encouraged by the Legion hierarchy in California. In December, 1944, in the second bulletin issued by the Americanism Committee of Post 591, its chairman, William Kent, had published a vigorous statement against intolerance toward Japanese Americans and in defense of the principle of racial equality. Following the issuance of this bulletin, Post 591, at a regular meeting held on January 9, 1945, unanimously adopted a strong resolution condemning the action of the Hood River Post, and admitted into membership an honorably discharged veteran of World War II, Harley M. Oka, a young Nisei with a spotless record and an excellent reputation. Both actions were hailed by many newspapers as proof that the Legion, as an organization, did not condone racial discrimination.

William Kent felt rather proud of the good work his committee had done in furtherance of a policy which apparently had the approval of the National Commander. But on January 16 he received the following communication from the Commander of the 24th District (of which Post 591 is a part):

> Dear Comrade Kent:
>
> You are hereby removed as a member of the Americanism Committee of this district; for the good of the Legion.
>
> A careful investigation of your activities, speeches, and writings reveals your criticism of the mandates, policies, and programs and that your tactics too closely resemble the "plan" of those rabble-rousers and un-American groups which are so hostile to the ideals of the American Legion.
>
> We cannot permit such activities to be cloaked with the respectability of membership on the Americanism Committee of this district.
>
> P. A. Horton, Commander
> 24th District, American Legion

Needless to say, Kent was amazed. He later asked for, and received, an overwhelming vote of confidence from Post 591. To indicate its further disapproval of Horton's action, Post 591 withdrew all its members who were serving, as Kent had been serving, on committees of the 24th District.

On January 23 Post 591 held a regularly scheduled meet-

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ing. Commander William Schneider was in the chair, and the meeting was about ready to transact its regular business when District Commander Horton, without prior notification or announcement, entered the hall with six men who were not members of Post 591. After having marched up to the platform, Horton motioned William Schneider, commander of Post 591, away from the microphone and curtly announced: "Comrades, as District Commander, it becomes my unpleasant duty to take over this meeting." He was immediately challenged by the adjutant and other members of the post, who raised a point of order. Attention was called to the fact that Horton was not acting in accordance with the constitution of the California Department of the Legion or with its national constitution. He was also pointedly reminded of the fact that he had not been invited to attend the meeting, much less to address the assembled members of Post 591. Commander Horton's reply to the point of order was: "You are members of the 24th District whether you like it or not."

Over continuing objections Horton then began to lecture the members of the post. "This program of the Japanese," he said, "is one with which you are not familiar. You could not be familiar with it." After some more in the same vein, he introduced John R. Lechner, B.D., LL.D. Dr. Lechner was not a member of Post 591, nor had he been invited to speak. Born in Innsbruck, Austria, he is a naturalized citizen. He received the degree of doctor, however, not from the University of Innsbruck, but as an honorary degree from the "Metropolitan University" of Los Angeles, with which, as a resident of Los Angeles for over twenty years, I am not familiar. The United States Office of Education seems not to be familiar with it either, for it is not listed in its Educational Directory. Dr. Lechner operates through an organization known as the Americanism Educational League, which is his *alter ego*. Long known as a violent Nisei-baiter on the West Coast, he is the author of a pamphlet entitled "Playing with Dynamite," full of old wives' tales about the resident Japanese. Although Lechner had been expressly repudiated as a spokesman for the Legion by the California Department (see the *California Legionnaire*, January 14, 1944), Horton apparently felt that he was just the person to lecture the members of Post 591 on "Americanism."

Disclaiming any prejudice against persons of Japanese descent, Dr. Lechner proceeded to tell the members of Post 591 that "the Japanese colony in the United States was guilty of things that no other racial group in America would have been guilty of." "If I hold a glass of cream in my hand," he said, "what would happen if I put water in it? It was yellow cream, rich cream, and if I put water in and kept pouring water into that cream there would be nothing left but a glassful of dirty, inky water that looked like dishwater. Comrades, you can talk American citizenship and Americanism, but if you put all the rot and dirt of the world in it you will have little left that is clean and pure and like the citizenship that our fathers had." (Official transcript, page 26.)

After Dr. Lechner's mess of metaphors Commander Horton stepped to the microphone again and charged the post with having been *intolerant* in admitting Oka to membership! Basing his remarks on an Americanism Manual of the Legion, he made this strange statement:

> We know full well in the Legion, and we insist in the Legion, that totalitarian nations have a right to maintain the form of government they want. It is none of our affair. We are not interested. But we are determined that they are not going to force their form of government on us, and any battles we have against communism, fascism, Nazism, or any other form of ism are for the protection of our American way of life, not from any particular animosity to any particular group, but the Communist Party has infiltrated into every organization, *and the method and manner of your handling this whole situation smells to high heaven of the tactics pursued by the usual Communist group.* (Transcript, page 31, italics mine.)

Horton then marched out with his escort. After he had left, William Kent got the floor. "I have not done any speaking or writing outside my own post," he said. "I am a business man, not a politician, not one who wants to impose his opinions on anybody else. I have given you factual reports, and I repeat again that I stand behind every word I said. . . . I want to know this, is backing up the United States Constitution and precepts un-American? Am I a rabble-rouser or not?" The answer was a vote of confidence from the post.

After this meeting the Los Angeles *Herald* of January 25 carried a story with the headline: "Blame Legion 'Radicals.' District Chief Explains Row on Hollywood Jap." In this story Horton was quoted as having said that Post 591 had "kidnapped" Oka from Santa Ana to induct him into membership as a publicity stunt. (Oka had not lived in Santa Ana for six years.) The Los Angeles *Examiner* of the same date carried a similar story. Following the appearance of these stories Post 591, on January 29, wired E. W. Bolt, Department Commander for California, requesting an immediate investigation of the conduct of Commander Horton and an apology from Horton to the post and its officials.

In the meantime, so I am informed, the national officers of the Legion had become thoroughly concerned over "the Hollywood Post incident." Here was a District Commander who had insulted the officers and members of a post made up of veterans of World War II over a matter in which the post had, in effect, merely followed the lead of the National Commander. Seeing in this incident an issue that might possibly alienate thousands of World War II veterans from the Legion, the National Commander, so I am reliably informed, urgently requested the State Commander to heal the breach between Post 591 and Commander Horton. Unfortunately, the State Commander felt that the issue was "too hot" for him to handle and appointed a five-man committee to investigate the charges filed by Post 591.

Eventually the committee came to Hollywood and held hearings on the charges. At these hearings Commander Horton, through his counsel, denied that the admission of Oka to membership in Post 591 was even an issue in the dispute! On the contrary, it seems that what he really objected to were "certain irregularities" in the post's bookkeeping procedures and the fact that Oka's membership had not been "processed" as required by the by-laws. It was established at the hearings, however, that Oka had been admitted to membership along with thirty other applicants and by precisely the same process; that he had not been "kidnapped"; that his application had been secured in the normal routine of

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recruiting new members; that he was a bona fide resident of the community; and that his application had been regularly checked, investigated, and cleared.

Before these hearings took place, however, something rather extraordinary occurred. One day late in January two deputy sheriffs from the "subversive detail" of the sheriff's office called at the place of business where Commander Schneider was employed and stated, in the presence of his employers and coworkers, that they were there for the purpose of "interrogating him in regard to the taking into the post of an American citizen of Japanese descent." They also volunteered the information that the investigation was being conducted at the request of the Department Commander. An hour later the same investigators appeared at the home of Kent, made similar statements, and demanded the address of Oka—which Kent refused to give them. Upon investigation, Ben Beery, attorney for Kent and Schneider, discovered that on January 30 Commander Horton had gone to George Contreras, head of the "subversive detail," complained that a "radical or Communist influence" had infiltrated Post 591, and requested that a criminal investigation be launched. At the hearing Horton explained this extraordinary request by saying that he and Contreras were members of the same Legion committee on "radical research" and that he had asked the latter to make the investigation as a member of this committee rather than as the head of the "subversive detail" of the sheriff's office!

The committee finally submitted a report to the state Commander. In general, the report was a complete whitewash of the incident. As originally submitted to the Department Commander, however, it sharply criticized the District Commander for his lack of tact and for some of the remarks he had made. But when the report was approved by the state executive board even these reprimands were deleted. Upon the issuance of the final report, William Kent, William James, Commander Schneider, Sergeant Leo Shibley, and Harley M. Oka resigned from Post 591. The report was published in full in the *California Legionnaire* under the caption, Hollywood Incident Now Over.

But is the Hollywood Incident really closed? Does the National Commander propose to submit this record to the veterans of World War II as a test of the American Legion's attitude on racial issues? Does the Legion intend to let this kangaroo trial stand as an example of the democratic character of its procedures?

The final board of appeal has not yet passed judgment on the Hollywood Incident. That board will be made up of 11,000,000 veterans of World War II, whose attitude was indicated in another West Coast "incident." Recently Spokane Post 51 of the Veterans of Foreign Wars rejected the membership applications of two wounded Japanese Americans. Upon hearing of this action, Sergeant Edward P. Salsich and 457 other overseas veterans at the army's Baxter Hospital in Spokane formed a "veterans' anti-prejudice committee." To Sergeant Salsich, Colonel V. R. Miller, commanding officer of the Nisei 442nd Infantry Regiment in Italy, wired: "To say that we are shocked by the reasons given by the post in rejecting one of our own men for membership is to put it mildly." He added that in 240 days of fighting in the front lines his Nisei regiment sustained 4,349 battle casualties, 2,300 of which were suffered during a three-week battle in the Vosges Mountains of northeastern France. "As the commander of these Japanese American troops," he said, "I can say that no finer soldiers, no finer Americans are in the United States Army. These men are entitled to the same treatment accorded other Americans, for we can win the war only to lose the peace because unthinking Americans violate the principles for which we live and die."

White Justice in Dallas

BY GEORGE CLIFTON EDWARDS

(A Dallas attorney who has had no connection with the Akins trials)

Dallas, Texas, September 4

ON SEPTEMBER 15, 1941, a young Negro, L. C. Akins, left his work as porter in a garage in North Dallas to go to his home across the river, where he had a crippled wife—she had lost both feet in an accident—and one child. He took an Oak Lawn car downtown and about eight o'clock reached his transfer point, intending to take a west-bound car on Commerce Street for Oak Cliff. He got his transfer and with a number of other persons walked toward the entrance of the car he wished to take. He reached the car and mounted the step. In so doing the young Negro either actually brushed ahead of and jostled a young white woman who was also entering the car, or her husband, who was at her elbow, thought he did. At any rate the young white man grabbed the Negro from behind and jerked him from the car to the street. Words, blows, and a fight followed instantly.

The white man, Morris, was a policeman who had been on the force only a short time. He was about six feet tall and weighed 169 pounds. He was not in uniform and displayed no badge, but he carried a pistol. At the beginning of the fight he drew his pistol, struck Akins on the head with it, and then shot him through the body. The two men were close together, fighting desperately, the Negro trying to guard against the pistol and to seize it and the white man trying to strike him with the pistol and to shoot him. In the struggle the white man dropped his pistol. The Negro, Akins, snatched the gun from the ground or out of the air and fired one shot; that shot killed Morris. Akins then walked two blocks to the City Hall and calmly surrendered himself and the gun.

The fight took place in a space about twelve by fourteen feet, between the curb and the car step. Only a few moments elapsed between the alleged jostling and the final shot. The

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shot that killed the white man came from his own gun, the gun which he had dropped after he had shot the Negro.

Akins was put in jail, denied bail, tried, and given a life sentence. The verdict was reversed, he was tried again, and this time given a death sentence, which has been affirmed. He was to be executed on September 7, 1945, but has obtained a stay of execution to October 6.

If the wounded survivor of the fight had been a white man, it is doubtful whether, anywhere in Texas, he would have even been indicted. It is certain that the white survivor of such a fight would not have been prosecuted for murder with malice. And if he had been indicted and put on trial, it is absolutely certain that he would not have been convicted and given a death sentence. This being true, it is clear that Dallas and the state of Texas are about to put this man to death because he is black. And everybody in Dallas knows it. Twice I have made this statement publicly before the Dallas Bar Association, and many times privately to other lawyers. Not one lawyer has denied the truth of the statement. One assistant district attorney refused to take part in the case because he said the Negro ought never to have been indicted. One appellate judge, off the bench, in conversation, which he will deny, said, "Of course the nigger ought not to be executed, but there was not an error in the record."

In Texas the law justifies killing in defense of one's life. In Texas also there can be no murder without malice. In Texas, finally, with countless instances of fights and killings, no court and jury have ever convicted and given death to a white man who in deadly combat had killed his antagonist, with the antagonist's gun, after that antagonist had already shot him.

It makes no difference that instead of being lynched Akins has been given the customary delays of Texas courts. It makes no difference that he was indicted by a grand jury specially selected with his indictment in mind and specially provided with one eighty-one-year-old, humble, "good" Negro member to prevent a reversal by the higher court. This man is to be executed solely because he is black.

The United States Supreme Court has granted certiorari in this case "because of the importance in the administration of criminal justice of the alleged racial discrimination which was relied on to support the claim of violation of constitutional rights." Justice Reed and the majority upheld the decision of the Texas Criminal Courts, but the Chief Justice and Justices Black and Murphy dissented, Murphy filing a written opinion. The general setting of the case—that the slain man was white, that he was a white policeman (there are no Negro policemen in Dallas), that the alleged jostling was of a white woman by a Negro, the white witnesses, the exclusively white jury, the white judge and court officials, the white prosecution—all this frame of racial inequality was before the court only as incidental to one narrow point. The grand jury that indicted the Negro was attacked as having been selected with discrimination against the Negro race, in violation of the principle expressed by Chief Justice Stone in *Hill* v. *Texas* (86 Law Ed. 1559), when he said that the commissioners who selected the grand jury were bound by their duty "not to pursue a course of conduct which would operate to discriminate in the selection of jurors on racial grounds."

Earlier Justice Frankfurter had said in *Lane* v. *Wilson* (83 Law Ed. 1281-7) that "the amendment nullifies sophisticated as well as simple-minded modes of discrimination." And Justice Reed in his majority decision against Akins admitted that "a purpose to discriminate may be proved by the systematic exclusion of eligible jurymen of the proscribed race or by unequal application of the law to such an extent as to show intentional discrimination" (*Akins* v. *State* 89 Law Ed. 1210). Here "discrimination" against the Negro race means simply "dealing unequally with" the race of which Akins was a member, in the selection of the grand jury. The grand jury had to be selected legally, and without discrimination, if it was to furnish any authority for the trial and conviction.

Under the Texas law the grand jury is selected by three commissioners appointed by the judge; they pick out sixteen men as a panel, of whom twelve are finally chosen as grand jurors and become the indicting body.

The first conviction of Akins, resulting in a life sentence, was reversed by the Texas Court of Criminal Appeals in an opinion based on the United States Supreme Court's decision in *Hill* v. *State* (86 Law Ed. 1559), which the Texas court followed with sullen reluctance. In the Hill case no Negro was on the grand jury, and it was shown that none ever had been selected, though there were numerous Negroes in Dallas County qualified to serve. After the reversal, the judge who had presided in the trial court told the commissioners who were to select a new grand jury that in view of the appellate court's decision it would be well to include a Negro. The general public and the commissioners knew from the judge's remarks that Akins was to be indicted again. The commissioners followed the judge's suggestion and chose a barely literate Negro farmer from a remote part of the county.

When motion was made to quash the indictment because of the discrimination alleged, a hearing was held at which the commissioners expressed themselves frankly. W. H. Wells said, "We had no intention of placing more than one Negro on the panel. When we did that we had finished with the Negro." Ernest R. Tennant testified, "I did not have any intention of putting more than one on the list." Roy E. Douglas, the third commissioner, agreed. "We liked this one," he said, "and our intentions were to get just one Negro on the grand jury."

There is, of course, nothing complicated or difficult in the idea of "discrimination." It means simply "dealing unequally with." And if the statements of the commissioners have any meaning whatever, they show very clearly that the commissioners did deal unequally with the Negro race. From their own testimony it seems impossible to deny that they allowed one Negro only on the grand jury. Yet Justice Reed, on page 1212 of the Akins decision, could say that the evidence "leaves us unconvinced that the commissioners deliberately and intentionally limited the number of Negroes on the grand jury list." And the majority voted with him to affirm the death sentence.

To the average citizen in this state, where discrimination against Negroes is commonplace, the judicial killing of Akins comes as no surprise. The average policeman, prosecutor, or juror says simply, "When a nigger kills a white

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man, death to him." Akins never had a chance in Texas. But it is shocking that the United States Supreme Court should have consented to this death sentence, should have tolerated the evasion of its own previous decisions by the deliberate subterfuge of putting one eighty-year-old Negro on the grand jury as evidence of "no discrimination."

I repeat that I know, and the judge who tried the case knows, and everybody else in Dallas knows that no white man would have been convicted of murder in a case like this, that Akins was condemned to death because of the color of his skin. Every citizen who approves or condones this death sentence shares the guilt of this Negro's death.

Who Bosses the Philippines?

BY CAPTAIN X

(An American army officer who fought in the Philippines)

Manila, P. I., August 9

THE Philippines are seething with political unrest. There are plots and deals and maneuvers, of reactionaries against liberals, collaborationists against resisters, fascists against democrats, rich against poor. There is growing dissatisfaction with the Roman Catholic church because of its extensive property holdings and its pro-Franco leanings both before the war and at present. Every sector of life in the islands simmers in the boiling political pot, and a scum of reaction is rising to the top.

The Nacionalista Party—the government party—is controlled by big economic interests. It is the home of collaborators and reactionaries. It is rapidly losing all its progressive members, but there is no comparable organization for them to join. Andrés Soriano, Manuel Roxas, and Sergio Osmeña are the key men in the party around whom the struggle rages.

Soriano, a Spaniard, is probably the largest single economic power in the Philippines and wields immense political influence. He is owner and operator of the huge San Miguel Brewery and has interests in breweries in the United States. In addition he is a great mining magnate, owning the IXL, the San Mauricio, and the Masbate Consolidated mines. He also owns ice-cream interests and has the Coca-Cola concession.

Before the war he was an avowed fascist. He was the honorary consul in Manila of the Franco government. He was also president of the Casino Español, the Falangist club, a position that made him the recognized leader of the Falangist movement in the Philippines. During the war in Spain he collected large sums of money from local Spanish business firms for use in "the cause." No one supposes that he has had a political change of heart, though he doesn't talk or operate openly as a fascist now.

The story of his acquisition of Philippine citizenship is a scandal. He applied shortly before the war, during the days when the United States government was freezing the assets of all Axis nationals and when it seemed expedient not to be too closely identified with an Axis ally. The law office of Roxas filed the petition for Soriano's appearance in court. His sponsor was General Basilio Valdes, chief of staff of the Philippine army. His counsel were Claro M. Recto, who later became Secretary of Foreign Affairs in the puppet government and a signatory of the Pact of Alliance with Japan, and Benigno S. Aquino, a rabid anti-American orator. Aquino, formerly campaign manager for the Nacionalista Party, became assistant head of the Japanese-sponsored Preparatory Commission for Philippine Independence, speaker of the puppet Assembly, and director of the Kalibapi—the sole political party during the Japanese occupation. He is now in Tokyo with José Laurel, former head of the puppet government.

Soriano was a resident of Manila, but in order to avoid publicity he filed the application in Rizal Province. This was a violation of the law which requires that citizenship petitions be filed in the place of residence. The Philippine Civil Liberties Union formally opposed the application, filing a written protest. Before the case came to court the union offered its help to the Solicitor General in opposing the application for citizenship of a known fascist. The Solicitor General accepted the offer *pro forma* but declined the assistance of the Civil Liberties Union when the case came up. This Solicitor General was Sixta de la Costa, who remained in office during the Japanese occupation. The Civil Liberties Union attempted to present its case but was refused recognition by the court, and Soriano's application was approved. The union promptly appealed the decision to the Supreme Court, but while the appeal was still pending, and before the required thirty-day period between the court's approval and the administration of the oath elapsed, Soriano took the oath—a second violation of the law. In fact, the law was violated on three counts, for Soriano took the oath in Manila before another judge, and the statute requires that it be taken in the same court and before the same judge who approved the application. This slippery business could not have been carried through successfully without the approval of high political circles.

Soriano is thus not legally a citizen. How, then, could he be an officer in the army and an aide-de-camp to General MacArthur? How could he occupy a position in the Cabinet? He was commissioned a captain in the Philippine army on January 1, 1942, and after he went to the United States was made a major. Furthermore, he was Secretary of Finance under Quezon in the refugee government. After he resigned this post he went to Australia and was commissioned a colonel in the United States army. Shortly before the return to Leyte he turned up on MacArthur's staff. He is said to have more influence than anyone else with MacArthur.

In passing it may be noted that Soriano's brewery was the first business to be reopened after the liberation.

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The recent history of Manuel Roxas is equally interesting. First it must be said that he is a collaborator—both because he supports collaborators now and because he behaved as one himself during the occupation. In the first fighting against the Japanese he was a brigadier general and acted as liaison officer between the Philippine army and General MacArthur. Early in the war he went to Mindanao, where he surrendered to the Japanese after the other officers, with his knowledge, had decided to continue the fight. Shortly after this he sent formal letters to the guerrilla commanders urging them to surrender for the purpose of speeding the return of peace and order. Tomas Cabili, later Secretary of National Defense in the Osmeña Cabinet, received such a letter. He and others rejected the idea, but many accepted it and surrendered. Roxas was then taken to the Capas internment camp, from which he was released conditionally after a short time. He returned to Manila and became a member of the Preparatory Commission for Independence and helped draft the constitution of the puppet government. Some time during April, 1944, Roxas became chairman of the Economic Planning Board, and shortly afterward Secretary without Portfolio in Laurel's Cabinet. During this time he campaigned vigorously to induce rice growers to deliver their grain to Biba, the Japanese-dominated rice pool, though he knew the guerrillas were doing everything possible to prevent Japanese seizure of Filipino rice through Biba.

On September 21, 1944, after the American bombings, martial law was declared. On September 22 a joint meeting of the Council of State and the Cabinet was called for the purpose of declaring war on the United States. Roxas did not attend, pleading illness. Upon inquiry by one of the members as to why Roxas was absent, the President made it a matter of record in the minutes that Roxas had already approved the declaration of war. The following is a direct quotation of the statement written to Laurel by Roxas: "Compadre: If our allies [the Japanese] ask for a declaration of a state of war, sign it. If they ask for a declaration of war, sign it also." Afterward Roxas pleaded that he had made this and many other statements under duress. However, it is a matter of record that two men at the joint meeting voted against the declaration. They were Ramón Avancena, of the Council of State, and José Yulo, the Chief Justice, who claimed that under the puppet government's constitution a declaration of war or of a state of war would be valid only with the concurrence of two-thirds of the Congress. And Miguel Unson, who voted for the declaration of war, nevertheless objected that the reasons stated were false. The Americans, he said, were coming to retake what was their own and to offer independence to the Philippines. In view of the fact that none of these men was punished or molested, it is difficult to accept Roxas's plea of duress.

After war was declared, several guerrilla groups offered Roxas escape and safekeeping. He declined, giving as his reason the fact that his wife, who was accustomed to the facilities of the city, could not live in the mountains. Some time later the guerrillas returned and advised Roxas that they were now prepared to offer Mrs. Roxas the comforts to which she was accustomed. He again declined, saying that he knew the proper time to join the guerrillas. The time never came.

After the American landing on Leyte Roxas went to Baguio with the Cabinet for safety instead of joining the guerrillas. The Cabinet was captured, but a distinction was made in the case of Roxas. The other collaborators were sent to Iwahig Prison on Palawan. Roxas was "liberated," with the personal guaranty of General MacArthur. His first statement was, "Most of the acts of the puppet government were done under duress." He referred to Laurel as a "patriot."

Shortly after his "liberation" Roxas returned to the political scene, though he had previously made a public statement that he would not seek or accept any office until after the war. He was promptly elected president of the Senate by a collaborationist majority. One of his first speeches was a declaration that he was generalissimo of the guerrillas! As a publicity stunt, and to give his claim verisimilitude, he submitted a list of men who he said deserved decorations.

Among the first acts of Roxas was a vicious attack on Secretary of the Interior Tomas Confesor, one of the outstanding progressives in the Quezon government, who had lived with the guerrillas for three years. This is the background of the attack. During August or September, 1943, a rift developed between Confesor and Colonel Macario Peralta, Jr. Both were guerrilla leaders in Panay. The quarrel reached such proportions that Confesor had to be rescued by Colonel Edwin Andrews on instructions from General MacArthur in order to prevent his assassination. At this time, it is claimed, General MacArthur did not know what the disagreement was about. In any case, Confesor immediately returned to Manila and opened an attack on Roxas. A plane was then sent to Panay for Peralta. Upon his arrival the first person he conferred with was Roxas. Then many statements came out attacking Confesor. Shortly afterward Peralta was sent to the Command and Staff School at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, whence he sent word to Roxas praising him for his inspiration to the guerrillas. Confesor and Cabili have since been kicked out of the Cabinet, though officially they "resigned in order to serve their country better as members of the Rehabilitation Committee in the states." Now there are no more real anti-collaborators in the Cabinet and very few in the Congress.

The following incident indicates the character of the Congress under the leadership of Roxas. On June 9, 1945, a resolution was passed supporting United States Congress Joint Resolution No. 93 granting the Philippines complete independence before 1946. While the resolution was before the Philippine Congress a motion was made to include President Roosevelt's statement that collaborators should not be permitted to occupy positions of political or economic power and influence. This motion was defeated on the remarkable ground that it "might commit Congress to that policy."

Roxas no longer takes much trouble to hide his real intentions. He is openly fighting for the reinstatement of all members of the puppet government. He claims there were no collaborators among them. He is powerfully supported by the big economic interests, the majority of whom played ball with the Japanese and many of whom made large sums during the occupation. He has the support of all former and present Falangists and other fascists.

Roxas must not be underestimated. He is extremely clever and a smooth talker: he captures the imagination of people who know nothing about the issues involved. In this con-

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nection it should be noted that three-quarters of the Manila newspapers are collaborationist and support Roxas. He has recently begun to publish his own newspaper, whose editorials seek to wash away the sins of the collaborators. Roxas is not an ignorant or naive man. He knows what grave problems the Philippines face. He is aware of the terrible plight of the peasants and the city proletariat. Therefore he courts them with excellent speeches. His promises mean nothing, but they sound wonderful.

There has been a split between Roxas and Osmeña. How deep it goes would be hard to say. It may be a political maneuver. But this much is clear: Osmeña's popularity among all classes of people is rapidly declining. He is old, hesitant, and slow in reaching decisions; he has no popular appeal, and the people do not feel that he is really interested in complete independence. He has won the disgust of all progressives because of his many compromises with collaborators and because by his inaction he has become the dupe of the reactionaries. It is not true that Osmeña has taken a vigorous anti-collaborationist stand. He has constantly tolerated the return of collaborators and has yielded to pressure to get rid of progressives in his government. He has supported or permitted a rapid return to the pre-war economic order dominated by private industrialists and big landowners. For all these reasons Osmeña will probably lose the November election. On the other hand, there is still the possibility of a deal between Roxas and Osmeña. Various persons, from various motives, are urging them to "unite." What the deal would involve no one can say. It might mean "uniting" around Roxas. It might mean Roxas as the running mate of Osmeña, who would resign after the election, leaving Roxas to succeed him. These are some of the many current speculations.

In this situation what will the progressives do? They are faced with a difficult choice. The Democratic Alliance, representing most of the liberal opposition groups, is in its infancy. Among its leaders are brilliant men, many of them lawyers, who are enthusiastic and sincere although perhaps more adept in political theory than in the revolutionary action the present situation calls for. Many are former Nationalists who have bolted the party on account of the collaborationist policies of its leaders. Several, notably Vicente Lava, who gave himself whole-heartedly to the efforts of the Hukbalahap, fought for three years as guerrillas. But the Democratic Alliance cannot possibly wage an effective campaign this fall. Its resources are slim and it has no leader who could compete with Roxas and Osmeña with any chance of success. Even without these handicaps the time before the election is too short to allow the progressives to do more than create a certain consolidation of their forces. The alternative to an independent campaign is to support Osmeña as the lesser evil in the probable event that the Nacionalistas divide and the President runs against Roxas. The choice must be made soon. But whatever the Democratic Alliance may decide, its main task is to organize a long-range fight against the collaborators and other reactionaries who now rule the Philippines under the protection of the American military authorities. In this struggle it desperately needs material and moral support from progressives in the United States.

In the Wind

SOCIETY NOTES: *Ad age*, official publication of the San Francisco Advertising Club, carried the following advertisement by the San Francisco *Examiner* in its issue of August 29: "We never claimed to be 'the newspaper that reaches the war workers' because our field is on the right side of the railroad tracks year in, year out."

REVOLUTION: That radical consumer publication, the *Wall Street Journal*, offered this advice in its Commodity Letter of August 28: "Start jumping on the butcher when he leaves a lot of fat on the steak or roast. There will be more animals coming to market, and it won't be a case of taking the steak with the tallow on or doing without another week."

TRICOTEUSES: R. H. Markham, in the *Christian Century* of August 15, gave this analogy of conditions in Bulgaria today: "If the Communist Earl Browder, Ruth McKenney, William Foster, and Robert Minor, with the cooperation of *The Nation's* Miss Kirchwey and *PM's* Isadore Stone, should set up a court to hang, after a day's trial, Hoover, Landon, Vandenberg, Dewey, the *Times's* Sulzberger, and the *Tribune's* McCormick, with photographers filming the dangling victims, we would have a picture in American terms of Bulgaria's 'people's justice' in the grand new order."

WAR: *Editor and Publisher* of September 1 reports that an unidentified news photographer who appeared in shirtsleeves at a formal ceremony in Halifax, N. S., recently, was berated by a high-ranking officer. "Dammit," the officer roared, "your paper ought to provide you with morning coats for occasions like these—it's disgraceful!"

REDS: Charles Ventura, society columnist of the New York *World-Telegram*, turned labor columnist on September 4. "Echoes of hunger cries now reverberating throughout the fashionable residential colony of Redding Ridge, Connecticut," he said, "are being heard in New York salons. Certain of the feminine members of the colony have gone on a sit-down strike by refusing to whip up a meal for their businessmen husbands. They say they're fed up with having to do their own domestic chores and demand a new deal now that the war is over."

MAGIC: Ralph Blodgett, of the Meneough Advertising Agency of Des Moines, Iowa, wrote an article entitled We Need Those Depressions in the August 25 issue of *Opinion and Comment*, a quarterly published by the College of Commerce and Business Administration of the University of Illinois. "It is to be hoped that depressions are never abolished," he said, "for they have many desirable features. Those who learn to 'ride the business cycle' can find as many advantages in depressions as in booms. . . . That very name 'depression' is inappropriate. It horribly maligns those great periods so full of splendid opportunities. . . . Let us keep those periods but abolish only the name. . . . Some economic research foundation might well offer prizes for suitable names and select the best one."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.*]

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

HARVARD PONDERS EDUCATION

BY IRWIN EDMAN

THE Report of the Harvard Committee, "General Education in a Free Society" (Harvard, $2), is not, as brief newspaper accounts have led the public to suppose, simply a recommendation that the elective system be dropped in Harvard College. The book—for it is one—is concerned with a far wider question, of which the suggested revision of the Harvard College program is one chapter. The report is occupied with the central issue of "the general education of the great majority of each generation in the high schools"—not that of "the comparatively small minority who attend our four-year colleges." The document raises more basic issues still: What are the common purposes to which education in a free society may be said to be directed? How far does the cultivation of individuality, acknowledged to be one of the aims of education, consort with more obviously social purposes? What common standards, what basic values, can a democracy agree upon? What is freedom? What is the good citizen in a free society? The good man? The good life?

President Conant, in his introduction to the report, asks to be "permitted . . . to issue a solemn warning: any judgment based on an incomplete or fragmentary reading is not only unfair to the authors but almost certain to be false. The book must be taken as a unit." The authors, almost to the point of tedium, repeatedly ask the reader to hark back to Chapter II, Theory of General Education, upon which their whole analysis depends. That chapter, they say, will consider "what can, perhaps overformally, be called a philosophy of American education, and especially that part of it which is general education." The substance of that philosophy is indicated in the chapter subheads: Heritage and Change, General and Special Education, Areas of Knowledge, Traits of Mind, The Good Man and the Citizen.

Like Plato's writings on the subject, to which the committee makes frequent obeisance, this report turns out to be not only a discussion of education in the narrow sense but a theory of human nature and civilization. Plato's views on these matters were derived from his observation of Athens; this committee considers human nature and civilization in America as seen from Cambridge, Massachusetts.

The terms of this survey of the basic questions raised by educational practice in the United States are very general. They are so general and, often, so genteelly balanced that it is impossible to do more at times than to express a somewhat bored acquiescence. There is never any question of the earnestness of the authors and of their desire to give a good account of the subject and of themselves and of Harvard. But they turn up some egregious truisms: "Education can . . . be wholly devoted neither to tradition nor to experiment, neither to the belief that the ideal in itself is enough nor to the view that means are valuable apart from the ideal." "Democracy must represent an adjustment between the values of freedom and social living." Such vanilla-flavored homiletics are not likely to shock the reader into absorbed attention.

There is a considerable amount of such banal good sense, expressed too often—albeit without jargon—in the bleak anonymous style of a committee. But there is a good deal more. Every committee has some strong minds whose views, expressed with clarity and enterprise, become eventually the "unanimous" beliefs of the committee. The Harvard report is not quite so innocent of tendentiousness as at first appears. One repeated assertion of the committee is that American education has lost the unifying principles it had in the nineteenth century, when appeal was predominantly made to "the Christian view of man and history as providing both final meaning and immediate standards for life." "And certainly," the committee adds, "this impulse to mold students to a pattern sanctioned by the past can, in one form or another, never be absent from education." The committee apparently feels deeply the necessity of finding a unity which may be the common heritage and the common possession of all members of a democratic society. There must be "some over-all logic, some strong, not easily broken frame within which both college and school may fulfil their at once diversifying and uniting tasks." It is clear that the committee is not willing, like the Chicago Thomists, to adapt an ancient unity in some degree of assumption and detail irrelevant to our age, our knowledge, or our problems. They recognize that in a diverse society any unity is hard to find. They come up with a very modest suggestion indeed as to the unity possible in twentieth-century America—"the ideal of cooperation on the level of action irrespective of agreement on ultimates. . . ." Translated from this bland abstract doubletalk, how much, one wonders, is left of "unity, of over-all logic, of some not easily broken frame"? During the war we had, it is true, "cooperation on the level of action." What corresponds to it, one wistfully wonders, during the peace? The committee seems wistfully to wonder, too.

The writers of this report give plenty of evidence themselves, in their admirable historical summary, of the degree to which American education has ceased to exhibit unity of purpose almost in direct proportion to the larger number and greater variety of groups reached by the enormously expanded high schools and colleges. They seem agreed that "cooperation on the level of action" is not enough. They appeal to something beyond, to "common beliefs and common commitments," which, they suggest, it is the function of general education—as over against special education—to provide. But about anything beyond faith in the "dignity of

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How to be a successful lover

WHAT do you know about sex and love? Do you belong to that generation which has been raised on the theory that love is "concealed sexual desire" — and the theory is wrong! We pride ourselves that we tell our children "the facts of life"; yet do we? The biological facts, yes; but what about this mysterious thing called love, that we read about in novels and see on the movie screen; how often do we experience it in our own lives?

Isn't it the truth that when we tell our children "the facts of life" we are telling them less than half the whole story of what it takes to make a success of marriage — yet how many of us know enough to tell them the rest?

Was Freud Wrong?

It is a strange thing that for forty years — since Freud — psychologists and psychoanalysts have devoted so much attention to the study of sex and so little to love. For Dr. Theodor Reik, in his revolutionary book, **PSYCHOLOGY OF SEX RELATIONS,** points out that the two things are not the same at all!

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Yet the Freudians would have us believe that every human impulse and action arises subconsciously from the well-springs of sex, either its satisfaction or its frustration. Art, music, poetry are supposed to be the result of "sublimation." Even friendship between man and man or woman and woman is said to have a sexual basis. Tenderness is supposed to be desire under another guise. It just isn't so, and this book proves it!

Marriage is more than a biological meeting between men and women. And — unless there is something beyond sex present — even complete physical satisfactions are rarely experienced.

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A Guide to Better Loving — and Living

TO enable normal, intelligent people to bridge the gap between the fundamental sex-drive and complete satisfaction in marriage is the purpose of this book. Dr. Reik believes that it is important for people to understand the true nature of sex attraction; to realize the differences in the emotional attitudes of men and women; to understand the parts played by hostility, envy; the instinct to dominate and to be dominated; the basis of jealousy, the real causes of indifference, the power of ego-fulfillment. Author of a score of distinguished and pioneering books, close associate of Freud who has had the courage to go far beyond Freud, Dr. Reik has been the recipient over many years of the secret fears and hopes of many men and women. There is no psychologist today better equipped to give the average person the answer to these and many other perplexing questions.

Reading this book is like enjoying a heart-to-heart talk with a wise, witty and understanding person who really does know the answers; a personally conducted tour of the most important subject in the world — by an expert. Freeing you of old shibboleths, it will show you concretely how to "find yourself" in marriage — and in the world.

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Sexual frigidity and impotence
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Promiscuity and homosexuality
The desire to conquer
The role of fantasy
Amalgamation of sex, ego and tenderness in the Happy life

PSYCHOLOGY OF SEX RELATIONS

By Dr. Theodor Reik

Author of From Thirty Years With Freud, Masochism in Modern Man, A Psychologist Looks At Love, etc.

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man" and in "mutual responsibility" they are not very specific. General education is concerned with nurturing the individual into a good citizen and a good man. It is not made clear what these common beliefs and commitments are, nor is it shown how, even were they less vaguely specified, their teaching would be distinguished from indoctrination. It is a nice point, and the committee with characteristic judiciousness reminds us that we must have minds open but not *too* open. "If toleration is not to become nihilism, if conviction is not to become dogmatism, if criticism is not to become cynicism, each must have something of the other." Isn't it true?

The appeal throughout is one that well-intentioned academic minds have always made, to the standard of "reason." The authors admit that "human nature involves instincts and sentiments as well as the intellect." But men may, they say, be educated to reasonableness, to the art of life, to wisdom. There is a little passing reference made to the social and psychological basis of ideals, but the Harvard report does not seem to be very aware that psychology and anthropology have thrown a great deal of light on human nature of late. There is no anthropologist or psychiatrist on the committee, nor do these sciences seem to have greatly influenced the ultimate conclusions. There is almost too much mention of Plato, and none of Malinowski or Freud.

Within the limits of abstract, debatable, and often merely debating philosophy, the practical suggestions for education are sensible enough, and whatever one thinks of ultimates, these pages are illuminating. There is a suggestive account of the way in which high schools may, and indeed must, be used if there is to be a basic and general education, as contrasted with merely technical and special training, for the citizens of our democracy. On the college level, at least for Harvard College, there is proposed a basic system of courses in the humanities, in the social sciences, in the natural sciences, designed to serve as parts of a general education. (Such a group of courses has, by the way, long been in operation at Columbia and elsewhere.) There are illuminating suggestions as to the way in which even certain "special" courses may be used for the purposes of general education. There is a sensible but skimpy discussion of the present status and the important possibilities of adult education, and of the new media of radio and movies. There is good sense about the "human" college and the "Olympian" university, and about the individual who is at the heart of the college, the advancement of knowledge which is at the heart of the university, and the connection between the two.

These chapters are worth the attention of anyone, and particularly of educators. But the report challenges consideration as a whole, as a theory of education in America. Even its failures are instructive. To ask what education is for in our, or in any, time is to ask what society is for, what life is for, what gives meaning to experience. It is not surprising that in our day a group of distinguished Harvard professors, when they do come to agreement on such issues, should have achieved only a formal unity. A genuine philosophy of education requires a coherent and compelling philosophy of society and life, and nothing like that has ever come out of even a sixty-thousand-dollar committee. Plato was a Committee of One.

The Great Choice

AMERICA'S PLACE IN THE WORLD. By Nathaniel Peffer. The Viking Press. $2.75.

AMERICA: PARTNER IN WORLD RULE. By William Henry Chamberlin. The Vanguard Press. $3.

FOR a few years at least, two powers will hold undisputed sway in the world: the U. S. S. R. and the U. S. A. For a few months at any rate, our supremacy cannot be challenged; and these months will be decisive. We can stand for liberty through justice; we can put our trust in force alone. The choice is more pressing than most of us realize. We cannot, without disaster, drift "in the middle of the road."

The purpose of these two fine studies is to awaken in the American people a sense of their responsibility. Closely parallel, they are complementary. Nathaniel Peffer's is the more philosophical; never abstract and vague, it is chiefly concerned with general issues and guiding principles. Chamberlin's work is not lacking in thought, but it is mainly a survey of concrete instances. It is dangerous to deal in a book with the problems of the moment: the results of Yalta had just been—darkly—released after the main part of Chamberlin's study was in print. But even in these swift-moving days we should think in terms of decades, not hours. The ideas of Peffer and Chamberlin are valid today because they were valid twenty-five years ago. Neither could foresee the atomic bomb; yet, in his very first paragraph, Chamberlin ascribes to the blockbuster the symbolic significance which we now attach to the deadlier weapon. Human nature remains more important than its instruments. There is more difference between the stone ax and nineteenth-century artillery than between that artillery and atomic warfare. If man remains a primitive with two-billion-dollar gadgets, we shall have war factories buried half a mile underground; that is all.

Chamberlin and Peffer agree on a capital point of history: that our refusing to join the League was *not* responsible for World War II. I beg to dissent. I know that England and France made a mess of the League, but that was because we had already killed the world's confidence in its success. Geneva with America at the head of the table would have offered a totally different picture. There were minor objectionable features about Versailles, although it was sweetness and light compared with the coming peace. But we, with malice toward none, and free from entanglements, could have invoked the wisest provision in the Covenant, Article XIX for the peaceful revision of treaties. It remained a dead letter: the victors clung to a crumbling peace; the defeated sought to destroy or elude it, but not to amend it. Although our joining the League was blocked by a minority in the Senate, we as a people are responsible for not making the will of the majority prevail. The trouble was that the majority had good intentions but no will power. Counting heads is not enough; the bewildered many, even if they are right, are no match for the fanatical few, even though perverse. I still believe that our rejection of Wilson was "the great refusal." There are far more reasons for our walking out of the United Nations now than there were for staying out of Geneva.

Both Chamberlin and Peffer are extremely definite in their

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condemnation of the Big Three principle. It is sheer power politics, and I am appalled at the fact that alleged liberals are toying with it. Even the "realists" who support it do not believe it will last (Fox, Dallin), or that it will be able to preserve peace. We are lazily accepting as a normal method the first condition of strategy—secrecy and the massive use of power. Chamberlin may be too gloomy when he says that the peace was lost at Teheran. I prefer the De Gaulle spirit: yes, the cause of peace suffered a severe setback at Teheran, another one at Yalta, and possibly the worst at Potsdam. But it is not lost, any more than the war was lost at Warsaw, Dunkirk, Singapore, or Manila.

We must reverse that tendency, and work for the faith we profess: democracy among men and nations, liberty inseparable from equality, force only in the service of the law. This raises the central point in both books: the necessity of abolishing the crying contradiction between our words and our deeds. I am not afraid of brave words like the Four Freedoms: but we should make a clear distinction between remote ideals and definite aims. These should be forthright commitments, effectively implemented. If we keep proclaiming principles and acting against them, we may call such confusion realism; the world will call it hypocrisy. On that shifty and cynical basis there can be no peace. Even we feel increasing uneasiness about our inner contradictions. We want to give Russia (and England) the full benefit of the doubt; but we are conscious that we are yielding in essentials for the sake of an alliance. This is appeasement, not peace. To quote Chamberlin's closing words: "The fruits of Munich are known. Those of Yalta remain to be gathered." It is plain that Chamberlin has an anti-Russian bias; but I, whose sympathies are on the other side, can see the force of his argument. We shall not remain friends with Russia for very long if we condone high-handed methods contrary to her principles as well as to our own.

We should therefore, as Sir Bernard Pares advises, stand up to Russia, provided it be as a fearless but generous friend. In this respect Peffer's chapter The New Holy Alliance? is all-important, one of the most cogent pieces of political writing I have read in a long time. If it were felt that we were the rallying point of an anti-socialist crusade, Russia would be justified in taking precautions against us. It is time to realize that there is a certain amount of collective activity, or collectivism, in this scientific-industrial world. Our task is to preserve the permanent values of American life, and first of all liberty, under collectivism; certainly not to turn collectivism into a source of profit for the few.

Both Chamberlin and Peffer are appealing to the American people to carry on an American, that is, a democratic policy. It is for the people to make their will manifest, and their will must prevail. Even liberal-minded scholars like T. A. Bailey believe in the necessity of secret diplomacy. This ancient fallacy must be exploded. In their general lines international problems are broader and simpler than purely national ones. The common people are more competent to say whether they want peace or war, anarchy or law, than they are to pick out the site of a power dam. Every secret deal implies a crooked deal among the profiteers, and a raw deal for the rest of mankind. Let us have "open covenants openly arrived at."

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Both also are conscious that only union, and union now, can prevent the Balkanization of Europe, and an Anglo-Russian conflict, into which we shall inevitably be drawn. Peffer merely alludes to the subject; Chamberlin mentions it over and over again, in his own words and in fine quotations from Churchill and Voigt. But, he adds in a despondent mood, "this last development cannot reasonably be anticipated until the hates aroused by the present war have subsided." I demur. It is the hates that make the union imperative. Saints could live in holy anarchy; snarling sinners need a common discipline. The union's first duty will be to curb violence; ultimately, it will allay hatred and foster goodwill.

ALBERT GUÉRARD

BRIEFER COMMENT

Beware of the Zaibatsu

A FACTUAL AND DETAILED HANDBOOK of Japanese society, such as "The Japanese Nation," by John F. Embree (Farrar and Rinehart, $3), has long been needed for popular use in this country. It is unfortunate, however, that many of the emphases in this study, at times incidental but more often repeated several times over, are not of a nature to further a discriminating insight into the workings of the Japanese oligarchy. The villain of the piece appears here again as the military leaders (though they are also shown as favoring apparently good "national socialist" measures), while an explicit effort is made to play down the political importance of the *Zaibatsu*. The danger of such an approach, in a period when the *Zaibatsu* will be carrying the ball for the military in preparation for a war of revenge, is too great to be permitted to pass unnoted. Much too tender a regard is also shown for the bureaucracy, the "respected" landowners, and the generally totalitarian elements of the old regime. The police system of Japan, for example, is qualitatively different from that in the United States, even though third-degree methods are practiced by "some American city forces." The role of the Emperor, though denounced at one point, is held capable of gradual modification toward a "constitutional monarchy"—an interpretation which is open to serious question. And it smacks of a justification of Japanese aggression to speak of "the situation of a newly industrialized independent nation in the midst of an area dominated by Occidental colonial and economic interests—a situation which was bound, sooner or later, to a lead to a war of survival."

If proper allowance is made for these dubious emphases, the reader will find much of interest and value in many chapters of the book. There are intimate glimpses, filled out with much fascinating detail, into the Japanese family and household, and interesting discussions of culture patterns, education, and newspaper and radio developments. The long chapter on Japanese religion, moreover, contains a recapitulation of the Shinto mythology and a brief summary of the modern practices of state Shinto which are sufficient to disclose their threat to a peaceful world community.

T. A. BISSON

Marc Chagall

LIONELLO VENTURI has provided the short text to an excellent book of reproductions of paintings and drawings by Marc Chagall (Pierre Matisse Editions). Chagall's personality is very well understood here, but his art is taken too unqualifiedly to afford us the illumination we have the right to expect from such a mind as Professor Venturi's. The fault may lie with what I detect to be an unconfessed or unconscious hostility on his part to most of modern art since impressionism. The book perpetuates the banal and widespread misconception of cubism as essentially intellectual and "scientific." And by implication Chagall is counterposed to Picasso—which is just as unfair to Chagall as it is to Picasso.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

Continental View

THE MAIN POINTS of Roland Hall Sharp's "South America Uncensored" (Longmans, Green, $3.50) have been made by other books recently reviewed in *The Nation*. There are, however, a frankness and a fulness of information about Brazil and Paraguay which give the book a special utility. There is, too, considerable treatment of Latin American imperialism, particularly Argentine imperialism, a matter which has received less attention than it deserves. But the special quality of "South America Uncensored" is that its political and social analyses, which are unencumbered with statistics and over-rigid formulations, are accompanied by a very interesting and vivid description of the continent itself. The resources of South America are related to the existing state of affairs and to the potentials of the countries concerned. Popu-

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lar illusions about the unbounded natural wealth of the continent are corrected, so that the largeness and importance of the tasks confronting democracy are clearly seen. There is a quiet sincerity about Mr. Sharp's writing and a sobriety of judgment that are very persuasive. RALPH BATES

Great Men of Africa

IN 1870 Africa was the "forgotten" continent; during the next thirty years its wealth became known and important to all the world. Stuart Cloete, popular novelist of South Africa, has told the history of that period through the lives of three men: Cecil Rhodes, financier and imperialist; Paul Kruger, Boer farmer, statesman, and soldier; and Lobengula, King of the Matabele and last great native chieftain.

"Against These Three" (Houghton, Mifflin, $3.50) demonstrates a nice sense of historical continuity in addition to Mr. Cloete's acknowledged narrative and descriptive powers. It is fascinating biography and essentially accurate history. RALPH ADAMS BROWN

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

SHAW did no concert-reviewing after his resignation from the *World* in 1894; but the death of Verdi in 1901 elicited from him the superb article on Verdi's work, and an atrocious performance of "Il Trovatore" in 1917 provoked the equally fine article on that opera, that are included in the volume of his music criticism published by Dodd, Mead in this country. In the general article, having refuted the contention that Verdi had been influenced by Wagner, he proceeded, as he said, to "take Verdi on his own ground. Verdi's genius, like Victor Hugo's, was hyperbolical and grandiose: he expressed all the common passions with an impetuosity and intensity which produced an effect of sublimity." And concerning "Il Trovatore" he observed that it is "unique even among the works of its own composer and its own country. It has tragic power, poignant melancholy, impetuous vigor, and a sweet and intense pathos that never loses its dignity. . . . It is absolutely void of intellectual interest: the appeal is to the instincts and to the senses all through." Which led him to this statement about performance: "Let us admit that no man is bound to take 'Il Trovatore' seriously. We are entirely within our rights in passing it by and turning to Bach and Handel, Mozart and Beethoven, Wagner and Strauss, for our music. But we must take it or leave it: we must not trifle with it. He who thinks that 'Il Trovatore' can be performed without taking it with the most tragic solemnity is, for all the purposes of romantic art, a fool. The production of a revival of 'Il Trovatore' should be supervised by Bergson; for he alone could be trusted to value this perfect work of instinct, and defend its integrity from the restless encroachments of intelligence."

And now imagine this music sung by a singer about whom Shaw wrote in 1894: "Whoever has not seen Miss Eames as Charlotte has not realized the full force of Thackeray's picture of the young lady who, when she saw the remains of her lover

> Borne before her on a shutter,
> Like a well-conducted person,
> Went on cutting bread-and-butter.

I never saw such a well-conducted person as Miss Eames. She casts her propriety like a Sunday frock over the whole stage. . . . Never, since Miss Mary Anderson shed a cold radiance on the rebuked stage, have virtue and comeliness seemed more awful than they do at Covent Garden on 'Werther' nights. How I envy Miss Eames her self-possession, her quiet consciousness of being founded on a rock, her good looks (oh, those calmly regular eyebrows!), and, above all, that splendid middle to her voice, enabling her to fill the huge theater without an effort!"

That combination of music and singer was what I heard recently from an old record on which Eames sang the impassioned *Mira d'acerbe lagrime* duet in her cool lady-like fashion with de Gogorza; and it was sheer farce which reduced the music to nonsense. Fortunately another record in the pile enabled me to hear the music restored to impressive sense by Gadski and Amato, singing with superb style as well as the beautiful voices they had in their prime. And these two records illustrate an important point, which I would like to state before I go on to speak of some of the other records in the pile—namely, that the talk about the Golden Age of Singing has been undiscriminating: not all the tenors were Carusos, not all the sopranos Hempels. The passage about Eames is one of many in Shaw in which he discusses the now legendary figures who for him were living day-to-day Covent Garden realities; and if he confirms what we have heard about the powers of Calvé he also convinces us that her Carmen was horrible, and reveals that Jean de Reszke shirked his performances except when he had the competition of a Van Dyck to fear, that Edouard de Reszke bawled his head off, that Tamagno did the same, and other things of the sort.

In this connection I might speak of two of the records of the famous soprano Lilli Lehmann that I had heard about for years, and that I was at last able to hear recently through the kindness of Mr. William H. Seltsam, an enthusiast who before the war reissued a large number of early vocal records. In certain respects Lehmann's performances—of *Casta Diva* from "Norma" and *Abscheulicher!* from "Fidelio"—lived up to what had been said about them: she had recorded them around 1907, when she was sixty or more, and the beauty and steadiness of the voice in the long opening phrases of *Casta Diva*, its security in the florid passages, were remarkable; and she sang, moreover, with the style of a great artistic personage. On the other hand it was astonishing to hear what liberties in tempo and phrasing—which today would be considered excessive, and even in bad musical taste—were possible within the limits of good musicianship in 1907. In *Casta Diva*, for example, after the first two beautifully inflected phrases, Lehmann suddenly rushed up to the climactic high point of the passage, stopped to take breath, and then descended very slowly.

But whatever the liberties that prevailing standards allowed, Hempel had her own unerring feeling for phrase that produced musical as well as vocal perfection. Among the great treasures in the pile of old records that I mentioned before were several of her performances; and it was not only the effortless agility and accuracy but the musical style of the florid passages that made *Vien, Diletto* from Bellini's "I Puritani" breathtaking. Indeed what moved us all to tears was rather her exquisite inflection of the simple opening statement of *Ah, vous dirai-je, maman,* and her wonderful extended phrasing of *Dite alla giovine* from "La Traviata," which she sang with Amato.

These, I repeat, are performances which Victor ought to reissue on a subscription basis; and if you agree with me tell Victor so.

Films

JAMES AGEE

A Great Film

WILLIAM WELLMAN and the others who are responsible for "Story of G. I. Joe" obviously did not regard their job as an ordinary one. They undertook a great subject. It is clear that they undertook it in a determination to handle it honestly and to make a masterpiece. A wonderful amount of their achievement measures up to their intention. If their picture had been made under the best of circumstances, in a time when everyone who had the heart and the talent was free to make the best pictures possible, it would still be among the best. Coming as it does out of a world in which even the best work is nearly always compromised, and into a world which is generally assumed to dread honesty and courage and to despise artistic integrity, it is an act of heroism, and I cannot suggest my regard for it without using such words as veneration and love. Many things in

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the film itself move me to tears—and in none of them do I feel that I have been deceived, or cynically seduced or manipulated, as one usually has to feel about movies. But not even the finest of the picture's achievements are more moving than the angry, bitter nobility of the intention which is implied behind the whole of it.

The authors of the screen play, Leopold Atlas and Guy Endore and Philip Stevenson, have not only avoided writing a story, in any traditional sense; they have also developed a rather original narrative style, dry, keen, sober, and visually very imaginative. This style seems to be based to some extent on that of Hemingway; but it is freer than some of Hemingway's less good writing of self-pity, over-insistent masculinity, and the musical gift which sometimes blurs even the most beautiful things Hemingway observes into one kind of Irish croon. Many of the scenes end abruptly; some are deliberately deflated or interrupted or made to end flat or tonelessly. All these devices are artful or, if you like, artificial, but on one seeing, anyhow, not one seemed dishonest either aesthetically or morally. It is about as taciturn a picture as I have seen; but not a verbal or speechless stretch in it seems forced or ineffective. Much use is made of a commonplace of good movie making which most American studios reject: that you can show a wave of action, even very complex and cryptic action, more excitingly and instructively rather than less if you don't pause continually to explain it to the audience, and if you don't delete the inexplicable. There is a wonderfully discreet and powerful use, for that matter, of purely "meaningless" bits—such as a shot in which Ernie Pyle (Burgess Meredith) sits by the road while some soldiers straggle past—which have as great meaning as anything could have, being as immediate and as unlimited by thought or prejudice as what the eye might see on the spot, in a casual glance. And visually there are some of the most eloquent and simple things ever put into a movie—the scene, for instance, in which the worn-out captain and the wretched young replacement private, silently and in great tension and shyness, watch and approach each other, and are interrupted by the sudden violent mental breakdown of a third soldier.

Many of the best things in the film are done just as exactly and unemphatically. With a slight shift of time and scene, men whose faces have become familiar simply aren't around any more. The fact is not commented on or in any way pointed; their absence merely creates its gradual vacuum and realization in the pit of the stomach. Things which seem at first tiresome, then to have become too much of a running gag, like the lascivious tongue-clacking of the professional stallion among the soldiers (Wally Cassell) or the Sergeant's continual effort to play the record of his son's voice, are allowed to run their risks without tip-off or apology. In the course of many repetitions they take on full obsessional power and do as much as anything could to communicate the terrific weight of time, fatigue, and half-craziness which the picture is trying so successfully to make you live through. The characters are just as unobtrusively introduced and developed—so quietly, in fact, that it is misleading to speak of "development" in any traditional sense. One of the most terrible things in the movie is the silent uninsistent notice of the change in the face of the youngest of the soldiers, after his first battle, from that of a lonely, brave, frightened boy to something shriveled and poisoned beyond suggesting by words. And the development of the character of the Captain is so imperceptible and so beautifully done that, without ability to wonder why, you accept him as a great man in his one open attempt to talk about himself and the war, and as a virtual divinity in the magnificent scene which focuses on his dead body. This closing scene seems to me a war poem as great and as beautiful as any of Whitman's. One of the glories of the over-all style and tone of the film is its ability to keep itself stopped down so low and so lucid, like a particularly strong and modest kind of prose, and to build a long gently rising arch of increasing purity and intensity, which, without a single concession to "poetic" device, culminates in the absoluteness of that scene.

In a film so excellent there are so many things to honor, and to comment on, that I feel incapable of clearness even on a few, much less of completeness or order. The picture contains, for instance, the first great triumphs of the kind of anti-histrionic casting and acting which I believe is indispensable to most, though by no means all, kinds of greatness possible to movies. It would be impossible in that connection to say enough in praise of the performance of Bob Mitchum as the Captain and Freddie Steele as the Sergeant, or of Wellman for his directing and, I suppose, casting of them. It is also the first great triumph in the effort to combine "fiction" and "documentary" film. That is, it not only makes most of its fiction look and sound like fact—and far more intimate and expressive fact than it is possible to record on the spot; it also, without ever inflating or even disturbing the factual quality, as Eisenstein used to, gives fact the constant power and meaning beyond its own which most "documentors"—and most imaginative artists as well—totally lack feeling for. I don't insist on the word if you feel it is misleading, but most of this film is good poetry, and some of it is great poetry, and all of its achievements, and even most of its failures, are earned in terms purely of moving pictures. The sudden close-up, for instance, of a soldier's loaded back, coldly intricate with the life-and-death implements of his trade, as he marches away from his dead captain, is as complete, moving, satisfying, and enduring as the finest lines of poetry I know.

This is not a faultless movie. Most of its scenes are perfectly and often originally fitted together, but one of the major transitions—between Africa and Italy—is diffuse, generalized, and conventional, and another—the fight for Cassino—remains rather a disappointing and somewhat leaky transition, not the climactic release of energy that was needed and I believe intended. Indeed, though I am aware of my limited right to an opinion, it seems to me that the movie does fail in one important thing: to give adequate direct impressions—indirectly, it gives any number—of the individual's experience of combat. Even when shots from "San Pietro" are used, in the last fight, the reality to the individual does not come through; and when the Captain and the Sergeant outwit German snipers in a ruined church, the episode seems brilliant, highly specialized, and almost literary, rather than something common to the experience of many infantrymen. If people as good as these can't communicate that experience, I am about ready to believe it has been proved inexpressible; but I still wonder what might have been done if during one combat sequence the camera had worked inside some individual as well as outside. Much of the picture is very somber in lighting and slow in movement—it has drawn as intelligently on Mauldin as on Pyle—but some of this darkness seems a little sumptuous and studioesque; and some of the outdoor sets, diligent and good as they are, seem over-prepared, with nothing left to chance, like the groundwork of a first-rate diorama—as if the mud had been churned up inch by inch by union labor, before the actors took over. But these are about the only faults worth

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mentioning; and if by any chance "Story of G. I. Joe" is not a masterpiece, then however stupid my feeling is, I cannot help resenting those films which are.

I imagine that some people, better educated than the infantrymen in "Story of G. I. Joe," will wish to point out that for all its courage and intelligence "as far as it goes," the film is not, in the sense they understand it, "an indictment of war." Nobody is accused, not even the enemy; no remedy is indicated; and though every foot of the film is as full an indictment of war as I ever expect to see, it is clearly also demonstrating the fact that in war many men go well beyond anything which any sort of peace we have known, or are likely to know, makes possible for them. It seems to me a tragic and eternal work of art, concerned with matters which I know are tragic and which I suspect are as eternal, anyhow, as our use of recent scientific triumphs will permit. Both the film and I may be wrong about this, but I am afraid the burden of proof rests with the optimists.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Veblen vs. Grew

Dear Sirs: As Japan now has the center of the world stage it is worth recalling what a master mind had to say of its leaders and governing class a generation ago. In 1917 Thorstein Veblen referred to Japanese government leaders as "these shrewdest, most callous, and most watchful of all adepts in unashamed statecraft." Compare this with Mr. Grew's statement, on the eve of Pearl Harbor, about the naivete and ingenuousness of the Japanese. Who is the "realist," the scientific scholar or the salon diplomat?

In "The Opportunity of Japan," written in July, 1915, Veblen said: "Japan must strike for domination, if at all, within the effective lifetime of the generation that is now coming to maturity. . . . The imperial government must throw all its imperial force, without reservation, into one headlong rush; since in the nature of the case no second opportunity of the kind is to be looked for." In "Essays in Our Changing Order," Veblen wrote as follows:

> To the Japanese government, or "state," the country, with its human denizens, is an estate to be husbanded and exploited for the state's ends; which comes near saying, for the prestige of the Mikado's government.
>
> In the material respect, the division of interest as between the people at large and the governing class is particularly well marked and well maintained; being indeed a division after the same fashion as that which holds between servant and master in any community that is organized on a servile footing. So that the people at large, the common man, has no appreciable share and no substantial concern in the measures taken by the government agencies, or even in the deliberations of that advisory board of nobility and gentry that has, under the constitution, been installed under the rubric "parliament." In effect, the people at large are the government's chattels, to be bred, fed, trained, and consumed as the shrewd economy of dynastic politics may best require. . . . The government established by the revolution (against the Shogunate) or "restoration" of Meiji (i. e., the supersession of the Shogun by the Emperor) is of the nature of an autonomous co-optative bureaucracy, made up of certain lines and cliques of the nobility (to some extent of a bureaucratic origin) backed by the loyal adhesion of a large body of gentry which differs from the displaced samurai in its work-day avocations rather than in its spirit of aristocratic fealty or its substantially parasitic livelihood. . . . Power vests in a self-appointed, self-authenticating, aristocratic cabinet—under the mask of a piously nourished monarchical fiction—with the advice, but without the consent, of a "parliament" endowed with advisory power.

THOMAS J. BARNUM
New York, August 14

Not at All "Blighted"

Dear Sirs: Under the heading Northwest Recaptured, in your August 18 issue, Jerome Mellquist refers to Superior, Wisconsin, as "that blighted ore port at the head of the Lakes."

"Blighted" is a most inaccurate description of the largest iron-ore shipping port, with the largest iron-ore dock, in the world. These are the facts: approximately one-third of the iron ore shipped annually on the Great Lakes is from Superior, Wisconsin; 25,939,951 tons were shipped in 1944, and that was not a record year. The largest grain elevator and the largest briquet plant in the world are also located at Superior. We hope that your contributor's reckless use of an adjective reflecting on an American city will be properly corrected.

A. J. WENTZEL,
Superior Association of Commerce
Superior, Wis., September 1.

The Spanish Opposition

[*The document printed below was wired from Mexico City with the request that it be published in* The Nation *so that the position of the groups which supported Dr. Negrín in the recent political crisis might be clearly understood by the friends of republican Spain in the United States.*]

THE parties and organizations signing this document were astonished at the statement in which Señor Giral, Premier of the Spanish Republic, announced the formation of his government. At a moment of such vital importance to the Spanish Republic we would have remained silent—although silence is sometimes itself a form of collaboration—if Señor Giral's statement had not contained an assertion that demands immediate clarification.

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Señor Giral placed the responsibility for his failure to form a true national coalition government, the first task with which he had been charged by the President of the Republic, on certain persons, parties, and groups.

First of all we must reject the insinuation that the only republican elements that remained outside the new government are "Negrín and the Communists." If the statement was made by Giral only because of his anxiety to offer a "satisfactory" explanation simultaneously with the release of his list of new Cabinet members, we can only regret the lack of serenity that motivated this action. If, however, the underlying motive was to identity Dr. Negrín with the Communist Party position, the insinuation is as false and unjust as the analogous assertions circulated through the world by the enemies of the Republic during the Spanish War.

The groups that refused participation in the Cabinet did so with a full sense of responsibility. As Spaniards and Republicans they have been inspired by the imperative necessity of continuing the policy of resistance that has characterized the heroic struggle of the Spanish people for freedom and democracy. This policy is represented in the person of Negrín. As head of the last republican government in Spain, he maintained his policy of resistance both during and after the war. The person who gave and the person who received the commission to form the government [President Martinez Barrio and Señor Giral] acknowledged the need of that policy by their efforts to secure the participation of Dr. Negrín in the new Cabinet.

The signatories of this document declined to collaborate with a government not headed by Dr. Negrín because of this major consideration. According to the Spanish constitution it is the Prime Minister who directs the entire policy of the government. It is not a question of individual ministries but of the head of the government. Therefore it was our firm belief that Dr. Negrín's political significance would have been neutralized had his name appeared with those of the persons now in the Cabinet—very honorable men but some of them representing a policy utterly different from and even contrary to those we consider indispensable at this moment. The conjunction of such different policies would have served no purpose and would have nullified and rendered fruitless any government action. That is why we decided to remain outside the Cabinet. As Spaniards and republicans we shall applaud any success that the new government can achieve for the benefit of the Republic. We shall not share responsibility for its failures.

(Signed) Spanish Socialist Party — Ramón Lamoneda; Communist Party—Vicente Uribe; Unión General de Trabajadores de España—José Rodriguez Vega; Republican Federalist Party—Eugenio Arauz; Unified Socialist Party of Catalonia—José Moix; Federation of Socialist Regional Groups—Angel Galarza; Basque National Action—Tomas Etxabe; Workers' Alliance of Asturias — Jesús Ibañez.

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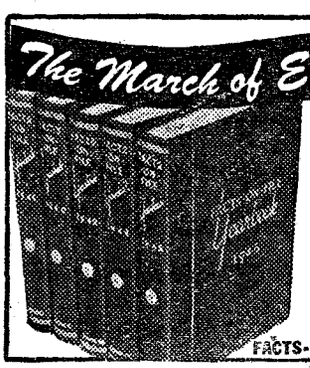
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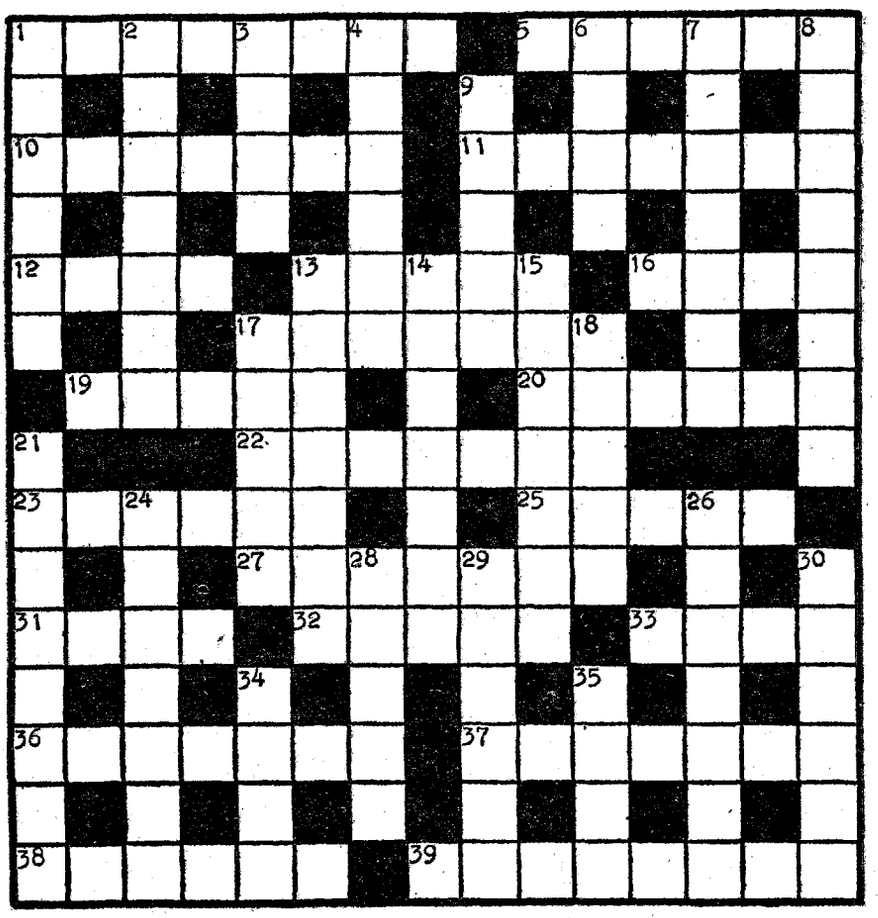
Crossword Puzzle No. 126

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Object of De Soto's quest
5 Wall plaster
10 A redoubtable warrior
11 "As large as life, and twice as _____"
12 Key to where the notes are to be found
13 Though feathered they are not birds, but usually belong to birds
16 Associated with a book and a candle in literature
17 Sure!
19 Grotesque caper
20 Floating, like water-lily pads
22 He reduces the number of hide-bound animals
23 She wrote *Little Women*
25 Taffy's nationality
27 Waldteufel waltz
31 Sculls, or their users
32 Donkeys definitely are
33 Penang-lawyer
36 Thinks up
37 Frame of a table
38 Mr. Hemingway, perhaps
39 They are always moaning about their troubles for our entertainment

DOWN

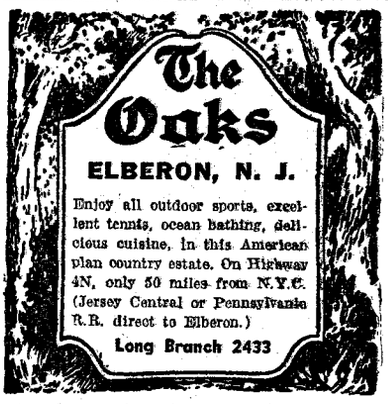
1 Draw charmingly
2 Underground prison cell
3 Underdone
4 Ball-player who should keep the catcher busy
6 Drams of spirits
7 The "Ambling Alp" of the prize ring
8 Not what seamen's waterproofs are made of
9 Feminine name
13 Not the sort of party we should want to attend as the guest of honor
14 Delightful surprise which would affect the hardest heads
15 Muscled
17 Tombs
18 Nostrils
21 One unsympathetic to Esau?
24 A house on wheels
26 Mr. Attlee's in the U.S.A.—in Washington, to be precise
28 Lift up
29 Found only in flowers and heaven
30 Takes the edge off
34 Not all of them are taverns
35 Leading man

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 125

ACROSS:—1 PICKTHANK; 6 DWARF; 9 ASSAILS; 10 MUFFLER; 11 TAI; 12 INTONE; 13 TAIL; 15 PASTORAL; 16 DOG-LEG; 18 ON TIME; 20 COVERLET; 23 IVAN; 24 BODEGA; 25 BEN; 28 CREAKLE; 29 TODDLER; 30 SAYON; 31 PARTRIDGE.

DOWN:—1 PLANT; 2 CASSIUS; 3 THIS IS ON ME; 4 ALSATIAN; 5 KIMONO; 6 DOFF; 7 ALL-HAIL; 8 FIRELIGHT; 14 ROPE LADDER; 15 PROVINCES; 17 POLESTAR; 19 TRAGEDY; 21 LABELED; 22 BO-PEEP; 26 NURSE; 27 SKIN.

RESORTS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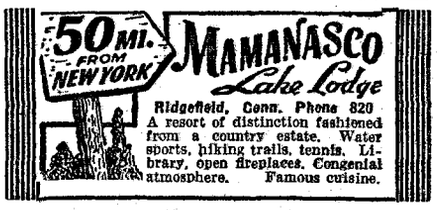
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